VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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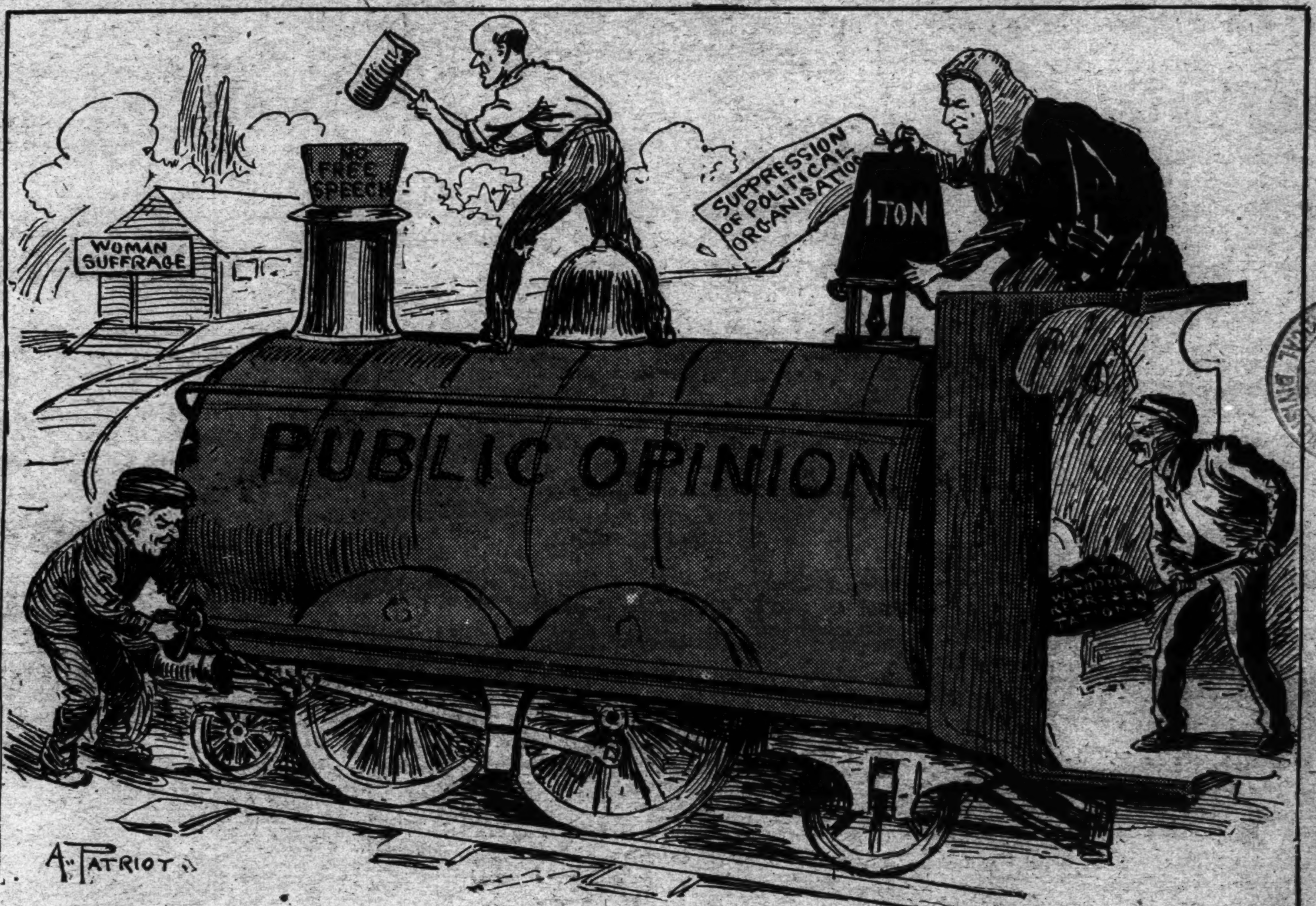
OUR ENLIGHTENED CABINET



1913

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

On Wednesday morning the police presented themselves at Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, the offices of the W.S.P.U., and arrested Miss Kerr, Mrs. Sanders, Miss Barrett, Miss Lennox, and Miss Lake. They also turned out all the other members of the staff and took possession of the offices, which they proceeded to search. Later in the morning Mrs. Drummond was also arrested.

At Bow Street

In the afternoon all the prisoners were brought up at Bow Street before Mr. Curtis Bennett, when a charge of conspiring to commit malicious damage was preferred against them. After purely formal evidence had been given by the prosecution, the cases were remanded till to-day (Friday), bail being refused. The prisoners were accordingly all removed to Holloway Gaol.

Mr. Dickinson's Woman Suffrage Bill

Next Monday and Tuesday the House of Commons will be occupied in the second reading debate on Mr. Dickinson's Woman Suffrage Bill. The measure as at present drafted provides for the enfranchisement of women of 25 years and upwards who are either themselves householders or the wives of householders. The full text is printed on page 441 of this issue.

The Parents of the Bill

Our readers do not need to be reminded that the precise terms of the Bill do not represent our choice or the choice of any Woman Suffrage Society. The Bill was drafted by a group of Liberal Suffragist Members of Parliament, and differs both in excess and defect from our proposition for the simple removal of the sex barrier from the Parliamentary electorate. Nevertheless, we have no intention of quarrelling with it on this account, seeing that if carried it will have the effect of establishing the principle of Woman Suffrage, and, in fact, of conceding the franchise to a substantial number of women.

What Will the Result Be?

It would be a mere waste of time to speculate upon the result of the division next Tuesday. If the pledges of politicians were to be read in the same sense as the pledges of honourable men in the ordinary walks of life, a forecast would indeed be easy. Approximately two-thirds of the House have declared themselves favourable to Woman Suffrage; and all of these ought to be prepared to vote for the second reading of a Bill which has an open title and is capable of extension or restriction by amendment in Committee. Moreover, in view of the fact that the Prime Minister has himself promised that the vote shall be a "free" one, no legitimate pressure can be exerted on behalf of the Government to secure the defeat of the Bill. Nevertheless, the ways of politicians are so tortuous, and their intrigues, as we have learnt to our cost in the past, so crafty that anticipations based on reliance upon Parliamentary pledges are quite valueless.

Suffrage Bills in the Past

It is worth while, however, at this stage to recall the fate of each of the Woman Suffrage Bills which have been before the House of Commons during the tenure of office of the present Liberal Government. In 1907 Mr. Dickinson introduced a Bill for the simple removal of the sex barrier, which was discussed on Friday afternoon, March 5, and talked out, the Speaker refusing to allow a motion for the closure to be put to the House. The Government declined to provide time for its further discussion, and it was subsequently withdrawn. Later in the same year Mr. Dickinson introduced a second Bill, somewhat on the lines of the measure now before Parliament, but this Bill did not get beyond a first reading.

The Victory in 1908

In the year 1908 Mr. Stanger again introduced the Bill providing for the removal of the sex barrier, and on February 28 the second reading was carried by the overwhelming majority of 179 (271 to 92).

An attempt was then made to get the Government to provide time for the later stages, and a deputation of M.P.'s waited on Mr. Asquith for this purpose. Their request was definitely refused, but, recognising the strength of feeling upon the question, the Prime Minister added a statement of his intention* of introducing before the end of that Parliament an Electoral Reform Bill to which a Woman Suffrage amendment could be moved, promising that if certain conditions were fulfilled the Government would remain neutral.

Smaller Majority For Adult Suffrage

In the following year no Woman Suffrage Bill obtained a place in the ballot, but Mr. Geoffrey Howard introduced an Adult Suffrage Bill, which was read a second time on March 19, 157 voting in favour and 122 against; the comparatively narrow majority of 35 for this wide measure thus contrasted very unfavourably with the enormous figure of 179 by which the second reading of Mr. Stanger's Bill for Woman Suffrage pure and simple had been carried the previous year. Later in the same session Mr. Philip Snowden reintroduced the Bill for the simple removal of the sex barrier, but it did not proceed to a second reading.

Favourable Vote in 1910

At the beginning of 1910 occurred a general election, as the result of which many Liberals lost their seats, and the Government became dependent on the Coalition of Liberals, Labour, and Irish. In the new situation an effort was made to effect a compromise on Woman Suffrage. The Conciliation Bill, as it was called, was drafted by a Committee of M.P.'s drawn from every quarter of the House with the intention of being equally fair to all parties. It proposed to enfranchise women occupiers only, forming about one million in all. Two days were alletted to the debate on the second reading, July 11 and 12, and for the first time nearly all of the prominent Parliamentarians took part. In spite of the vigorous opposition of Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Churchill, the second reading was carried by the large majority of 109 (299 to 190). A vote was then taken as to whether the Committee stage should proceed "upstairs" or on the floor of the House, the decision in favour of the latter being carried by 320 to 175. The effect of this second vote was to make further progress of the measure dependent on Mr. Asquith's willingness to grant time. He refused to do so, and thus once again succeeded in blocking the Bill.

Overwhelming Majority in 1911

In December, 1910, another general election took place, which left the composition of the House practically unaltered. The Conciliation Bill was again introduced in 1911 in a slightly modified form, being on this occasion provided with an "open" title, and restricting its operation to women householders. These modifications had been made to meet the criticisms of Mr. Lloyd George and to bring it within the definition required by Mr. Asquith for a Bill to which the Government would give effective facilities during the Parliament. The second reading took place on May 5, and was carried by the great majority of 167 (255 to 88). The majority was made up of 145 Liberals, 53 Unionists, 31 Nationalists, and 26 Labour men, and the minority of 36 Liberals, 43 Unionists, and 9 Nationalists. Great hopes were entertained that the Government would now remove their block, particularly in view of Mr. Asquith's promise; and nearly all the prominent Municipal Councils throughout the country petitioned Parliament to proceed with the Bill. Once again, however, Mr. Asquith refused; but he stated definitely that in the session of 1912 reasonable facilities as to time would be provided.

The Bill Torpedoed

For a while it looked as if this promise for 1912 would result in the passage of the Bill in that year, and all the Suffrage Societies joined hands in working for this consummation of their labours. Then in November, 1911, came the blow. A Government Reform Bill was announced revolutionising the basis of the male franchise. This announcement, as we fully foresaw, and as Mr. Lloyd George, who was a party to the proposal, had the indiscretion to admit, torpedoed the Conciliation Bill and the promise of facilities, for the simple reason that a household franchise for women was not a practical concomitant of universal suffrage for men. When the Bill actually came on in the House on March 28, 1912, it was defeated by 14 votes (222 to 208). Among the hostile majority of 222 were 71 Liberals (including Mr. Masterman, Mr. Lloyd George's henchman, and Mr. Crawshay Williams, Mr. Lloyd George's Parliamentary Secretary), 116 Unionists, and 35 Nationalists. The 208 who voted in favour of the Bill consisted of 117 Liberals, 63 Unionists, 25 Labour men, and 3 Independent Nationalists.

The Woman Suffrage Amendments, January, 1913

No vote was taken upon the Woman Suffrage amendments to the Franchise Bill last January, owing to the failure of Mr. Asquith to keep his promise that the Bill should be "so drafted as to be capable of amendment to include women." But the intrigues which had been carried on in the lobbies of the House of Commons during the fortnight preceding the date fixed for the discussion had demonstrated that there was no hope of a genuinely "free" vote being cast on the issue. We deal at length with Mr. Asquith's promise of a "free" vote on the occasion of the present Franchise Bill in our leading article this week.

The Cat and Mouse Bill

We announced last week that the Cat and Mouse Bill had passed through its third reading in the House of Commons, but we were not able to give an analysis of the voting on the division. We now have this before us, and find that among the majority of 293 who voted for the Bill were 178 Liberals, 60 Nationalists, 50 Unionists, and 5 Labour men. The minority of 57 against the Bill were composed of 4 Liberals, 31 Unionists, 21 Labour men, and Mr. Tim Healy. The 5 Labour men who disgraced themselves by voting for the Bill were Messrs. Bowerman, Hancock, Harvey, Pointer and Roberts. On Thursday afternoon in last week the Bill was rushed through the House of Lords at a single sitting, urgency being alleged because some five or six of the prisoners were so seriously ill that unless the Bill were passed they would have to be unconditionally released! The Royal Assent was given on Friday, and the Bill is now law.

The Bill in Operation

Mr. McKenna has lost no time in putting the Bill into operation. Mr. Franklin, who has been forcibly fed no less than 114 times; Miss Ella Stevenson, who has also had forcible feeding for several weeks; Miss Phyllis Brady, who has been reduced to a mere shadow of her former self; and Miss Milicent Dean have all been released on license ordering their return to the prison on Whit Monday, May 12, failing which they will be subject to re-arrest. All the prisoners have torn up their licenses, and Mr. Franklin has dictated a fiery letter of protest, extracts from which we publish on page 447. Seeing that something like twenty-four policemen are engaged in watching the house in which Mrs. Pankhurst is at present staying, we wonder whether a similar number will be attached to every one of the newly released prisoners, and what will happen when the fated May 12 arrives and every one of the prisoners proves recalcitrant.

Disgraceful Scenes in Hyde Park

Acting no doubt upon instructions from the Government, the police are abdicating all their proper duties in Hyde Park on Sunday afternoon, and are giving small gangs of hooligans and pickpockets license to behave with impunity. Last Sunday, after a few rowdies had commenced interfering with a perfectly peaceful meeting of the non-militant Men's League for Woman Suffrage, the police, who had made no attempt to stop them, ordered the meeting to be closed. Elsewhere they broke up quite orderly meetings of women and conducted the speakers to the gates of the Park and handed them over to gangs of roughs, from whom they were only rescued by a few plucky private citizens.

The Case of Beattie v. Gillbanks

We are glad to see that the *Manchester Guardian*, in a weighty leading article which we print in full on page 446 of this issue, protests vigorously against the attitude taken up by the Government, and quotes the leading law case of Beattie v. Gillbanks. It will be a matter of peculiar interest to our readers to know that it was Mr. Henry Pethick, father of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who took the initiative in securing the reversal of the original sentence on appeal. A special article on this case, written by Mrs. Lawrence, is printed on the opposite page.

Government Takes Bankruptcy Proceedings Against Mr. Pethick Lawrence

The Government have decided to take bankruptcy proceedings against Mr. Pethick Lawrence to recover the sum of £612 6s. 10d., which is still unpaid of the costs of the prosecution in the trial of himself and Mrs. Lawrence and Mrs. Pankhurst in March of last year. A petition was filed on Saturday last and a copy was served on him at the office of Votes for Women last Tuesday. Mr. Pethick Lawrence still refuses to pay the money, giving four reasons for his refusal, which we publish in this issue.

Mrs. Pankhurst Still Very Ill

Mrs. Pankhurst is still at liberty, if to be confined in one's bed seriously ill with police watching the house front and back and on the roof can be called liberty. As she did not return to prison on Monday last at the expiry of her license, a doctor from the Home Office, together with Superintendent Quinn, went to see her. They were admitted to the House, and on the stairs met Dr. Flora Murray, who is in attendance upon her, and asked to be informed of her condition, to which Dr. Murray replied that it would be contrary to all medical etiquette to give such information without the consent of the patient. The Home Office doctor accordingly proceeded up to Mrs. Pankhurst's room, but she refused to be examined. However, a glance was sufficient to convince him that she was not in a state to be removed to prison, and the warrant for her rearrest was accordingly not executed.

M.P.U. Protest Meeting

A stirring meeting of protest against the treatment of Mr. Franklin and the other prisoners was held by the Men's Political Union at the Kingsway Hall on Tuesday last. Mr. Nevinson was in the chair, and Mr. Zangwill delivered a brilliant speech, in the course of which he remarked that Lord Haldane had recently been decorated by the King with the Order of the Thistle; if this was in recognition of his services in connection with the Cat and Mouse Bill it was a very suitable decoration. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence pictured the Government as a bully using its power to deceive, rob and taunt its victim, and when that victim retaliated to kneel on his chest and claim that he had brought it on himself. Mr. Scurr referred to the attempted prohibition of free speech in Hyde Park, and undertook that if the police removed all their inspectors and constables he would guarantee to keep order with a few hundred respectable working men whom he could bring with him.

Items of Interest

A special cable to Votes for Women announces that both houses of the Wisconsin Legislature have now carried the Suffrage amendment, which will accordingly be resubmitted to a referendum.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence addressed a crowded meeting in Glasgow last week organised by the Women's Freedom League.

An influential deputation of nurses waited on Mr. Asquith to induce him to adopt and carry the Nurses' Registration Bill; he declined on the ground that certain persons were opposed to it. A similar answer is likely to be given always until women get the vote.

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* This "intention" was never carried into effect.

BANKRUPTCY PROCEEDINGS AGAINST MR. PETHICK LAWRENCE

Wednesday, May 14, fixed for the hearing. Mr. Lawrence explains his refusal to pay

In pursuance of their policy of attacking the Woman Suffrage movement through the pockets of its supporters, a further step has been taken by the Government against Mr. Pethick Lawrence.

It will be remembered that a fortnight ago a notice of bankruptcy proceedings was taken out in the name of the Director of Public Prosecutions and duly served upon Mr. Lawrence. The notice was to the effect that a sum of £612 6s. 10d. was owing to the Director of Public Prosecutions by Mr. Lawrence, being the balance of the cost of prosecuting him and Mrs. Lawrence and Mrs. Pankhurst as instigators of the W.S.P.U. demonstration of March of last year. The notice further informed him that unless the amount was paid to the satisfaction of the Bankruptcy Court within seven days, a petition in bankruptcy might be filed against him.

As Mr. Lawrence did not pay the money, regarding the attempt to enforce it as a political move on the part of the Government to be resisted at all costs, a petition in bankruptcy was filed on Saturday morning, and a copy was served upon him on Tuesday last at the offices of Votes for Women. The endorsement on the petition fixed Wednesday morning, May 14, at 11.30 a.m., for the hearing of the petition before the registrar at Carey Street, Lincoln's Inn.

TEXT OF THE PETITION.

The full text of the petition and endorsement is as follows:—

No. 543 of 1913.

In the High Court of Justice in Bankruptcy.

Re Frederick William Pethick Lawrence.

Ex parte The Director of Public Prosecutions.

The Director of Public Prosecutions of Whitehall, in the City of Westminster, hereby petitions the Court that a Receiving Order be made in respect of the Estate of Frederick William Pethick Lawrence, of Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, in the City of London, and says

1. That the said Frederick William Pethick Lawrence has for the greater part of six months next preceding the presentation of this Petition carried on business at Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, within the District of this court.

2. That the said Frederick William Pethick Lawrence is justly and truly indebted to the Director of Public Prosecutions in the sum of £612 6s. 10d. upon a final Judgment recovered against him on the 9th April, 1913, in the High Court of Justice, King's Bench Division, the consideration of such Judgment being money due under an Order of the Central Criminal Court dated 14th May, 1912.

3. That the Director of Public Prosecutions does not, nor does any person on his behalf, hold any security on the said Debtor's estate, or on any part thereof, for the payment of the said sum.

4. That Frederick William Pethick Lawrence, within three months before the date of presentation of this Petition, has committed the following act of bankruptcy, namely,

Has failed to comply before the 24th day of April, 1913, with the requirements of a Bankruptcy Notice duly served on him on the 16th day of April, 1913.

Dated this 26th day of April, 1913.

(Signed) Charles Willie Mathews,
Director of Public Prosecutions.

Signed by the Petitioner in my presence,
(Signed) T. W. Dantry, 46, Parliament Street, Westminster, solicitor.

This is the Petition referred to in the Affidavit of Charles Willie Mathews, the Director of Public Prosecutions, sworn before me this 26th day of April, 1913.

(Signed) T. W. Dantry, a Commissioner of Oaths.

Filed the 26th day of April, 1913, and allotted to Mr. Registrar Brougham 2 Pen.

INDORSEMENT.

This Petition having been presented to the Court on the 26th day of April, 1913, IT IS ORDERED that this Petition shall be heard at the Court Sitting in Bankruptcy, Carey Street, Lincoln's Inn, on the 14th day of May, 1913, at 11.30 o'clock in the forenoon.

And you, the said Frederick William Pethick Lawrence, are to take Notice, that if you intend to dispute the truth of any of the statements contained in the Petition, you must file with the Registrar of this Court a Notice showing the grounds upon which you intend to dispute the same, and send by post a copy of the Notice to the Petitioner three days before the date fixed for the hearing. (Signed) H. J. Hood, Registrar.

The effect of this petition is that unless Mr. Pethick Lawrence pays the money before May 14, or unless he is able successfully to defend his position, a receiving order will be made and a Receiver appointed to take charge of his affairs.

WHY I REFUSE TO PAY

By F. W. Pethick Lawrence

I refuse to pay the money demanded by the Government for four reasons.

Firstly, I regard the action of the Government as a purely political move conceived with the intention of crushing their political opponents. As the first person selected against whom the new policy is being tried, I feel that it is "up to" me to make the biggest fight which lies in my power so that the Government will realise that such dishonourable tactics as they are employing cannot be carried out with impunity.

Secondly, in common with a great number of other lawyers, I regard the statute of 1908, under which the claim for costs is being made against me, as constituting a very grave injustice; because while a successful resistance to a prosecution does not entitle an innocent man to recover his own costs from the Director of Public Prosecutions, the latter is enabled to recover the cost of prosecution where a man is found guilty. Holding this view, I realise that there is only one way of getting an unjust statute of this kind repealed, and that is by taking the consequences of defying it.

Thirdly, I object on principle to the fact that Sir Rufus Isaacs, who is paid a large annual sum by the State and who, in addition, has other means of adding to his income, should be able to decide to institute criminal proceedings against me, his political opponent, and should then be able to take £300 out of my pocket to pay himself for his part in the same.

Finally, so long as Sir Stuart Samuel is not called upon to pay the £49,000 fine which he has legally incurred, I object to pay the £1,000 fine which has been saddled on me. And if it be argued in his favour that his motive was pure, I say that in my case the jury specifically found that my motive was pure in the action for which I have already suffered imprisonment.

QUESTION IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

Mr. Ginnell asked the Secretary to the Treasury on Wednesday afternoon if he will state what fees, in addition to salary, have been paid to each of the Law Officers in connection with the prosecution of suffragists; the dates upon which the Law Officers appeared in court in that matter; and, if none, the occasions and nature of the work for which the payments have been made.

Mr. Masterman: The only fees paid to the Law Officers were £381 6s. 6d. to the Attorney-General in respect of the trial of Mrs. Pankhurst and others at the Central Criminal Court. The Attorney-General was present in court six days.

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HOW I FIRST LEARNT ABOUT FREE SPEECH

By Emmeline Pethick Lawrence

In the leading article of the *Manchester Guardian* of Wednesday last reference was made to the famous case of Beatty v. Gillbanks, and a comparison is made between what happened then and what is happening at the present time Sunday by Sunday in Hyde Park in consequence of the police order issued at Mr. McKenna's instruction to prohibit Suffrage meetings.

The reference was of very special interest to me, for it was my father, Henry Pethick, of Weston-super-Mare, who was the moving spirit in securing the release from imprisonment of "Captain" Beatty, of the Salvation Army, and in working up the agitation that resulted in the appeal and the verdict of Mr. Justice Field.

The History of It

The facts were that the Salvation Army were in the habit of holding processions and meetings in Weston-super-Mare, and this was resented by a certain body of people, who organised themselves into a skeleton army and announced their intention of breaking up any further meeting. In spite of this announcement and a warning from the police that further processions and meetings must be abandoned, the meeting was held as usual; the skeleton army came into conflict with it, and disorder ensued. Captain Beatty, of the Salvation Army, was arrested, and was sentenced by the local magistrates of Weston-super-Mare to three months' imprisonment in Shepton Mallet Gaol on the ground that it was his conduct which was responsible for causing the disturbance, as he must have known, in view of the announcement of the skeleton army, and the warning of the police, that it would cause a breach of the peace.

I was a child at the time. I remember how thrilled I was by my father's stern face and voice as he denounced the injustice of the procedure. I remember the committee of men that sat all that same evening in the dining-room drawing up the petition, and above all the wonder of the following day, a Sunday, when my father, who had accustomed his family to a most strict religious observance of the Sabbath, ordered out the horses at 8 o'clock and drove all day till he had called on every person of standing in the town and had collected hundreds of signatures. The next day he went to London, and he brought back the news that Captain Beatty was released pending the appeal. It was quick work, but that was my father's way. In my dumb, childish fashion I simply worshipped him for it, and it forged our relationship for ever, though I never told him so till we took our last farewell of each other. He had almost forgotten the incident then. But I had never forgotten it.

I did not know in those days of long ago that he was making history, but I knew that he had sown the passionate love of liberty in my heart; I knew that I, his child, was vowed to the same cause of war against tyranny on behalf of the wronged and oppressed. Would that there were more men of like generous, stern and impetuous spirit, whose indignation could rise at a simple act of injustice and could sweep like an impetuous flood against the barriers set up to dam back the tide of human liberty.

THE FIGHT FOR FREE SPEECH

More Hooliganism in Hyde Park—Police Break Up Men's League Meeting—Black Friday Tactics

Last Sunday, the women's fight for free speech was resumed in Hyde Park, and on Monday morning the papers were full of accounts of "angry" crowds who "refused to allow the speakers to say a word," or even to stay in the park, while the women had to be conducted to a place of safety under "police protection." That was the impression conveyed in the Press, and we say unhesitatingly that it was a false impression from beginning to end.

The crowds were not angry. They did not prevent the women from speaking. They did not chase them from the park. The women were not protected by the police.

THE TRUTH

The crowd was composed, as usual, of a majority of people not opposed and not wildly friendly to Woman Suffrage, of an enthusiastic section of warm supporters, and of another section of idlers, loafers, degenerates, and such undesirable persons, many of whom, but for the assurances of the Press that they represent "public opinion," would not dare show themselves within reach of a respectable citizen, much less of a constable. The great difference between last Sunday's crowd and that of the Sunday before was the greater preponderance, this week, both of men and women Suffragists; and the great difference between the occurrences of the two days was that this week the pickpockets were not in evidence, and the hooligans did most of their mobbing outside the park gates.

The Protection of the Police

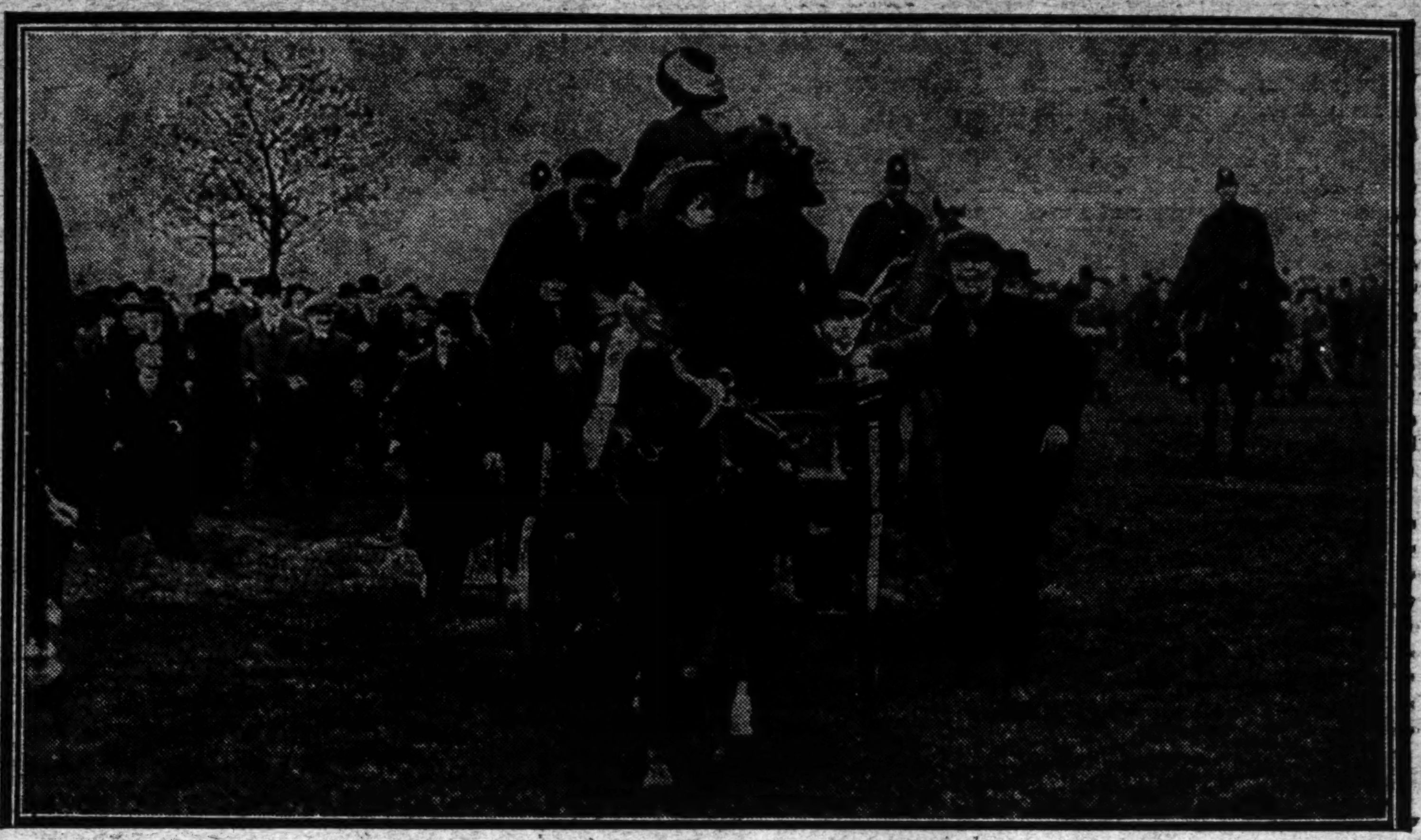
The protection of the police consisted in breaking up every crowd that gathered round a member of the W.S.P.U. who set up a platform, in seizing the woman, and in conducting her (under apparent but not actual arrest) to the nearest gate, where they left her at the mercy of the lowest mob that could well be gathered together in any city. Anything more vile than such a method of procedure could not easily be imagined; and it was practised all through the afternoon, for, soon after each woman was dislodged and her platform broken to pieces or confiscated by the police, another purple, white, and green flag would flutter forth on another spot a little way off, another woman would spring up and speak, another crowd would surround her, and another posse of police would create disorder where order reigned before, by scattering her audience to right and left, often with extreme roughness, and haling off the woman, as described above. The courage of the women in returning, as many did, and going through it all again as soon as they could escape from the clutches of the mob, beggars description. Working men and others went to their aid, or they could never have got free of the mob. And as the afternoon wore on the sympathy of the crowd increased; idle curiosity turned to indignation against the police (sometimes personal, for the mounted men rode up and down on the grass as though it were a high road, and gradually exasperated every section of the people present); and amused indifference grew into sympathetic interest and support. When this became evident, the vigilance of the police intensified; and peaceful groups of people who gathered round Suffragists here and there, arguing and asking questions, began to be dispersed. In one instance, it was a clergyman who called for a show of hands in support of Free Speech and in condemnation of the Government's handling of the Suffrage question. Instantly, a forest of hands went up, and as quickly the mounted police bore down upon the little gathering and scattered it. But in no case did the police interfere when it was a group of loafers, or worse, who gathered together for no nobler purpose than to harry and molest decent men and women. These enjoyed absolute immunity from police supervision.

PERSECUTING CONSTITUTIONAL SUFFRAGISTS

Nor was it against the militant Suffragists alone that the violence of the police, and of their allies the hooligans, was directed. The following letter, which appeared in last Tuesday's *Standard*, speaks for itself. It is written by Mrs. Merivale Mayer, of the New Constitutional Society, and bears out our own observations of what took place last Sunday:—

"I desire to make an emphatic protest against the action taken by the police against myself in Hyde Park on Sunday afternoon, when I was taken between two constables and ejected from the park, with a warning that I was not to return. I was not holding a meeting, and I am a member of a non-militant society—the New Constitutional Society—and was wearing their badge at the time.

"The action of the police appeared to arise out of the fact that I was in the middle of a perfectly orderly group of people who were talking amongst themselves in quiet, low tones, and that I replied to questions and remarks which were addressed to me. Suddenly, I heard a police whistle blown close by, the signal was repeated, and then, while I was continuing my perfectly quiet conversation, I was suddenly pushed forward by a constable, who told me to 'get on out of that, and smart, too.' Then I heard the order given: 'Take her out of the park altogether.' This was done by two constables, and when I protested against being hustled one of them remarked, 'Oh, you've got to put up with that.' At the park gates the police flung me forward into a mob of howling hooligans, and left me, unprotected, to their tender mercies. I do not know what would have been my ultimate fate at their hands had it not been for the timely assistance of a very poorly dressed working-man, who sprang forward and took hold of me by one arm, and a well-dressed young man, who seized the other. Between them they protected me until a passing motor-omnibus was stopped, and I was helped in. The whole occurrence was so un-English and such a deliberate interference with the liberty of the subject—besides revealing a state of affairs so dangerous to the future safety of the rights of an alleged free people—that I feel it to be my duty to protest."



THE ANGRY CROWD

The above photograph (which we reproduce by kind permission of the "Daily Mirror") will give our readers some idea of the "angry" crowd which is said in the Press to have chased the women out of the Park last Sunday

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In addition to what took place on the green near the Marble Arch, a meeting, for which a police permit had been granted, and which was being held some distance off, under the auspices of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, was summarily brought to a close by the police because of the uproar caused by a handful of youths and a few older people of equally low type, although these were largely outnumbered by a respectable crowd, and decisive action on the part of the authorities would have caused order to prevail without any trouble. That action was never taken. Since exaggerated accounts of the occurrence have appeared in the Press, we give herewith an account of what happened, from the pen of one who occupied the men's platform at the time.

A CONSTITUTIONAL MEETING STOPPED

(By a Constitutional Suffragist)

It is important to note that the Men's League meeting in the Park on Sunday last was put an end to by an order on the part of the police, despite the fact that an audience of many thousands were either openly sympathetic with the speakers or desirous quietly to listen. The excuse made for putting a stop to the meeting was the conduct of a small band of rowdy young men and youths. The chairman of the meeting, Mr. J. M. Mitchell, had, on the whole, a good hearing, whilst the crowd was rapidly assuming large dimensions. The interruptions at first were few and scattered, but presently the rowdies got together in a compact body in front of the platform. At this stage a couple of constables could have easily restored order, but no attempt was made to curb the rowdiness, which grew by impunity. Mr. Guggenheim, the second speaker, had a more difficult task. There were now some six or seven thousand persons wishing to listen, and supporting the speaker by manifestations of approval, and hundreds more were flocking from all directions, while the hooligans numbered something less than 200, with a sprinkling of obvious criminal types. Just as the third speaker, Mr. S. D. Shallard, rose to speak, the hooligans commenced to push the platform about. The police, who could easily have prevented this, made it an immediate excuse to interfere, and urged Mr. Shallard to desist from speaking. This he declined to do, on the grounds that he was quite justified in what he was doing, and that if the police objected to the disorder of a few persons, it was their business to put a stop to it. When the police-inspector found that the speaker was determined to continue, he said he must order the speaker to desist, and that he should put a stop to the meeting. "Do you forbid us to carry on our meeting?" asked the speaker. "Yes, I forbid it," was the inspector's reply. The police then offered an escort to the speakers, but they left the platform one by one.

SPECIAL CABLE TO "VOTES FOR WOMEN"

"Suffrage Amendment passed Wisconsin Lower House."

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL.

The above cable brings the news that the Suffrage amendment in Wisconsin (which already enjoys partial Woman Suffrage, a form of enfranchisement somewhat wider than the Municipal franchise in England) has passed the Lower House of the Legislature. At the beginning of the month it passed the Senate by 17 votes to 15, and is now, therefore, ready to be re-submitted to the Referendum which, on a former occasion, it failed to pass.

The Women's Freedom League

Shortly afterwards, Miss Boyle and other members of the Women's Freedom League mounted the platform, but the police ordered the van to be driven away to the Alexandra Gate. By this manœuvre they withdrew the women from the large and respectable crowd, and from their supporters, with the exception of Mr. Bart Kennedy, Mr. Shallard, and one or two others, and drew away with the cart the gang of hooligans, who knew by experience that the women would probably be put outside the gate, and then left to be mobbed or stoned. In this case the police had the wisdom to order the gates of the park to be shut before many of the mob got through; but some forty or fifty young men and boys, mostly armed with stones and turf, followed the cart and threw their missiles from a distance, until the women got into a taxicab, when there was a rush for the cab, the hood of which was pulled down, and some blows were aimed with sticks and stones. When all this was over, and help was no longer wanted, two gallant mounted constables galloped up with a tremendous parade of energy; but, needless to say, they took care not to interfere with the real offenders or to make any arrests.

The Women's Freedom League is holding its next Sunday's meeting in Regent's Park at noon. It has already held one meeting there, and found the audience most sympathetic.

PRESS CONCERN

We regard with the gravest concern the latest step which the Government has taken in its efforts to escape from the dilemma in which the militant women have placed it. . . . But between the "fell and incensed points" of such "mighty opposites" as Mrs. Pankhurst and Mr. McKenna, M.P., we must not allow our liberties to be destroyed. . . . It is surely obvious that, even upon the lowest grounds of political expediency, the proceedings under 34 Edward III. ought to be abandoned forthwith. What is at stake is the personal liberty of the subject; and the issue is raised in its simplest and most elementary form—namely, that of imprisonment without trial, for it is impossible to describe as a trial proceedings in which it is unnecessary to prove the commission of any criminal act. Mr. McKenna's lapse may be explained by the circumstances that he is at his wits' end for expedients wherewith to meet the tactics of the W.S.P.U. But what of the Prime Minister, and the Lord Chancellor, and those 667 other gentlemen who sit in Westminster as the volunteer guardians of our liberties? Have they all allowed the Suffragettes to wreck their principles as well as their nerves?—**New Statesman.**

(Other interesting matter in connection with the Free Speech agitation will be found on page 446.)

THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGN

Next Week's Suffrage Debate—Passive Resisters—Liberal Women Rebels

MR. DICKINSON'S WOMAN SUFFRAGE BILL

The following is the text of the Representation of the People (Women) Bill which was introduced by Mr. Dickinson and read a first time on April 3, and will come up for its second reading next Monday and Tuesday, May 5 and 6:—

1. Every woman who—

(*a*) if she were a man would be entitled to be registered as a parliamentary elector in respect of a household qualification within the meaning of the Representation of the People Act, 1884; or

(*b*) is the wife of a man entitled to be registered in respect of a household qualification and has resided in the qualifying premises during the period required by law to enable a person to be so registered;

shall be entitled to be registered and when registered to vote as a parliamentary elector in the constituency wherein the qualifying premises are situate.

2. A woman shall not be entitled to be registered unless she has attained the age of twenty-five years.

3. A woman shall not be disqualified by reason of marriage from being registered and voting.

4. This Act may be cited as the Representation of the People (Women) Act, 1913.

A COMPARISON

We think our readers may be interested, in view of the Suffrage debate in the House next week, if we recall to their minds the following analysis of the voting on the second reading of the Conciliation Bill in 1911 and 1912 respectively.

HOW THE PARTIES VOTED ON MAY 5, 1911.

	Voted	Paired	Totals
FOR THE BILL.			
Liberal	145	25	170
Unionist	53	25	78
Nationalist	31	—	31
Labour	26	5	31
AGAINST THE BILL.			
Liberal	36	12	48
Unionist	43	43	86
Nationalist	9	—	9
Labour	—	—	—

HOW THE PARTIES VOTED ON MARCH 28, 1912.

	Voted	Paired	Totals
FOR THE BILL.			
Liberal	117	19	136
Unionist	63	13	76
National	3	—	3
Labour	25	2	27
AGAINST THE BILL.			
Liberal	71	9	80
Unionist	116	25	141
Nationalist	35	1	36
Labour	—	—	—

The Liberal Suffragist Committee in the House of Commons who drafted Mr. Dickinson's Representation of the People (Women) Bill, the second reading of which will be taken on Monday and Tuesday next, met on Wednesday in last week, and, says the London correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, reconstituted itself as the Women's Suffrage Committee, adding the following members from all parts of the House:—Messrs. Burt, Chancellor, Fenwick, Arthur Henderson, and Philip Snowden, Sir John Rolleston, Lord Henry Bentinck, and Lord Wolmer. Five Cabinet Ministers were also added—Sir Edward Grey, Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Runciman, Mr. McKinnon Wood, and Sir Rufus Isaacs. This brings the original Committee, which numbered fourteen, up to twenty-seven. Sir John Simon continues to be president and Mr. Leif Jones secretary of the Committee. Four Whips have been appointed for the second reading—Lord Henry Bentinck, Mr. Chancellor, Mr. Henderson, and Mr. H. McLaren.

According to the same authority, the Unionist anti-suffragists also met, under the chairmanship of Sir Frederick Banbury, but there was not a very large attendance. It was decided to fight the Bill at every stage, and Unionist anti-suffragists were asked to impress on their fellow-members who were inclined to support the suffrage that Mr. Dickinson's Bill went beyond the original Conciliation proposals. They hope that on this ground a good many "moderate" Unionist suffragists may be detached.

What Will Unionist Suffragists Do?

According to the *Daily Telegraph*, the Unionist Suffragist M.P.'s are working hard in the House of Commons in view of the second reading next week. Mr. Stuart Wortley and Mr. Worthington Evans are issuing a circular to their Unionist colleagues, inviting them to support the second reading, as well as an amendment in Committee on the same lines as the Conciliation Bill. This, as our readers know, would restrict the Parliamentary vote to women who now possess the local government franchise, and would reduce the number of the enfranchised from six millions to about one million and a half. Should such an amendment not be carried, adds the *Daily Telegraph*, Unionists would vote against the third reading of the Bill.

The *Times* says that the argument used by the anti-suffragists "will detach some Unionists who formerly supported the Conciliation Bill, but by no means all. The Unionists will be divided, the minority supporting Mr. Dickinson's Bill, in the hope, presumably, that if it goes to Committee they can then reduce it by amendment to the old 'conciliation' proposal."

The *Times* further says that "The Woman Suffrage Committee are not proposing to issue a whip in favour of Mr. Dickinson's Bill, which will be debated on Monday and Tuesday. Their present intention is to rely on the influence of the members of the committee with members of their own parties. Mr. Lloyd George is expected to speak for the Bill. The anti-Suffrage Liberals are sending out a whip against the Bill, in which members opposing are requested not to absent themselves from the division unless paired."

What About Principle?

According to the *Morning Post*, however, "the supporters and opponents of the Suffrage Bill have arranged to send out urgent whips for the division on Tuesday, but the probability of a poor attendance is stronger than it was last week. The House will rise for the Whitsun vacation on the following Thursday, which in itself is a temptation to many members to snatch a little more leave."

The Convinced Believer

H. J., the Lobby correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle*, writes: "Myself a convinced believer in the principle of women suffrage, I am yet constrained to report that the prospects of a majority for the Dickinson Bill are by no means roseate. The frantic folly of the militants has had a disastrous effect on the women's cause. Until militancy ceases there is no chance of a decision in the House of Commons on the real merits of women's suffrage."

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

Last Tuesday Mr. Clough asked the Secretary for Scotland the number of women in Scotland who have attained the age of twenty-five years who, if they were men, would be entitled to be registered as Parliamentary electors in respect of a household qualification within the meaning of the Representation of the People Act, 1884, and who are the wives of men entitled to be registered in respect of such household qualification?

Mr. McKinnon Wood: There are no statistics available from which the information desired by my hon, friend could be deduced with any close approach to accuracy, but as a very rough estimate, necessarily based on arbitrary assumptions, the total of the two classes to which I understand him to refer may be put at about 600,000.

LIBERAL REBELS

WOMEN LIBERALS

Strong Resolution

At a meeting of the East Toxteth Women's Liberal Association the following resolutions were carried unanimously:—

(1) "That, in view of the decision of the Government not to introduce a Bill for the enfranchisement of women, this association calls upon all Liberal members of Parliament who are supporters of women's suffrage to vote for the second reading of Mr. Dickinson's Bill. Further, this association pledges itself not to work for the Liberal party at the next General Election unless the claim for the Parliamentary franchise has been conceded."

(2) "That this association urges the Prime Minister to delay no longer the fulfilment of his pledge that he would place the 1908 Licensing Bill on the Statute Book as soon as the Parliament Act set the House of Commons free to carry out the legislation demanded by the people, and that he will introduce the long-promised temperance measure in the session of 1913."

The Annual Meeting

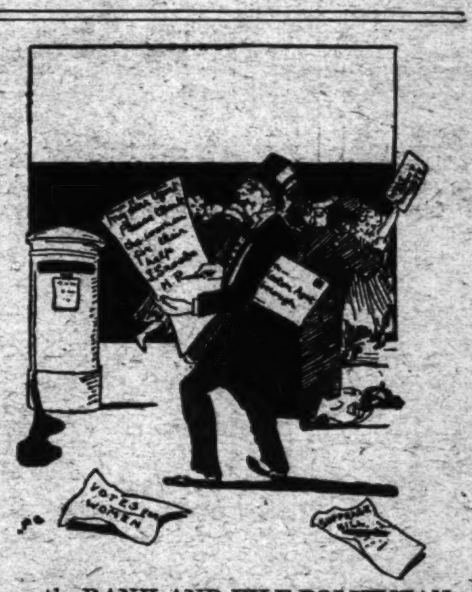
The annual council meetings of the Women's Liberal Federation will take place at the Horticultural Hall, Vincent Square, Westminster, on May 6, 7, and 8.

THE LIBERAL ELECTOR

The following letter has been sent by an indignant Liberal elector to the hon. treasurer of the Birmingham branch of the British Liberal Association:—

Dear Sir,—In reply to your letter of the 16th inst. to hand, not one penny will the Liberal Association get from me so long as the Liberal Government continue their absurd and inhuman treatment of the women's demand for the vote. On the contrary, everything that I can do in the shape of work, influence, and money will be devoted to opposing them. I hold that Tariff Reform and all the other evils consequent upon Tory administration would be preferable to the present degradation of Liberal principles.—Yours sincerely,

(Signed) T. L. GRIFFITHS.



I am the RANK-AND-FILE-POLITICIAN,
Lying to women without contrition;
When with their charms I have won my seat,
Them and their bills I pitch in the street.

(With acknowledgments to the *Daily Herald*, in which the above drawing appeared on April 25.)

THE WOMEN'S PETITIONS

Last week we gave the text of two petitions, praying the House of Commons to allow certain women to plead the cause of Woman Suffrage at the Bar of the House of Commons. On Thursday in last week Mr. Keir Hardie presented the second of these, signed by representatives of organisations comprising 4-500 working women, and since then Lord Robert Cecil has been informed by the Prime Minister that "there is no time at the disposal of the Government between now and next Monday which could be given" for a debate in the House as to the advisability of granting the petitions. Mr. King's request that the Prime Minister should move the suspension of the eleven o'clock rule in order to give the House the opportunity of voting on the question was also answered in the negative. It will be remembered that the Speaker informed the Actresses' Franchise League in a letter that the power to refuse or grant permission to plead at the Bar of the House rested with the House itself, and we understand that the petitioners have not yet decided what further action to take in the matter, but they do not mean it to remain where it is.

THE TAX RESISTERS

THE DUCHESS OF BEDFORD

After we go to press a silver cup will be sold under distraint for King's Taxes which the Duchess of Bedford has refused to pay, and a protest meeting will be held at the Portman Rooms, Baker Street, on Thursday afternoon, at 3 o'clock.

The Duchess of Bedford has stated in the Press as follows her reason for being a Tax Resister:—

"My reason for resisting payment of the property tax is that I consider it unjust that women should have to pay taxes when they have no voice in the making of the laws which enforce them. I also wished it to be known that, in spite of the tactics adopted by the Women's Social and Political Union, I am not deterred from declaring myself in favour of a modified Woman Suffrage. There are many women in favour of the franchise who have not given the movement any public support because they do not wish to be identified with militancy. By thus holding back they lend support to the impression that there is no great demand amongst the women for the franchise. There are also many women who have not studied the question at all, and who associate it only with the breaking of windows and the burning of houses."

WHY MISS BEATRICE HARRADEN REFUSES TO PAY TAXES

Miss Beatrice Harraden, who is still suffering from the effects of an injury to her eye received on the occasion of her tax-resistance protest, when between three and four hundred schoolchildren were allowed by the police to throw mud and other missiles at her and her companions, has very kindly allowed us to publish the following statement made by her in the auction-room, where her goods were sold under distraint on April 22:—

"Ladies and Gentlemen, — By the courtesy of Mr. Gill I am allowed to make a brief statement of the reasons why I have refused to pay my income-tax like a peaceful, law-abiding citizen. (Before doing this I can't resist telling you that I have had so many congratulations from all sides on this action of mine that I really might be going to be married instead of 'sold up.') To be very brief, I have refused to pay my income-tax:—

"(1) Because it is obviously unfair and increasingly intolerable that a woman who earns her livelihood by the direct use of her brain should be called upon to pay the tax on her earnings, and yet be denied any voice whatsoever in the choice of representatives to Parliament whose salaries she helps to pay by the direct use of her brain.

"(2) I have refused to pay my income-tax because I consider that women should now use every opportunity in their power to protest against a Government which has persistently ignored, deceived, and tricked the Constitutional Suffragists working quietly for the enfranchisement of women, and has goaded the militant Suffragists into crimes and deeds of disorder which, mark you, would never have been committed but for the coercion and repression of seven years of mismanagement and injustice.

"(3) I have refused to pay my income-tax as a protest against forcible feeding—now universally pronounced to be torture—and as a protest against that new Bill—the Cat and Mouse Bill—with its forcible feeding clause retrieved. I protest against it as an emanation from a cruel brain, and as an ignoble piece of legislation which is a dishonour to England."

A STRONG RESOLUTION

At a meeting held by the Tax Resistance League in the Caxton Hall, last Monday, the following resolution was carried unanimously:—

"This meeting calls upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer to amend the Income Tax Act so as to give a married woman full rights and responsibility with regard to the taxation of her own income, thus removing the injustice by which (1) Marriage is penalised by the refusal to recognise husband and wife as separate persons; (2) A husband is liable to imprisonment for the tax on an income over which he has no control; (3) A wife has no power to reclaim income-tax on her own dividends."

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R.S. O.1. Smart Satin or Crêpe de Chine Shirt with new shape collar and long sleeves, fastening in front with silk buttons, and finished at neck with a dainty lace jabot ornamented with black Milan drops. In grey, amethyst, dark saxe, light saxe, champagne, and other new shades .. 20/-

R.S. O.2. Useful and effective Blouse in white or ecru imitation crochet lace of handsome design, lined throughout strong washing net. Three sizes .. 20/-

R.S. 5.B. Plissé Blouse in Ninon over coloured Jap Silk—giving a pretty shot effect; cream lace collar and insertion; fastens in front. In all sizes and new shades—purple and cerise, grey and mauve, black and royal, champagne and mauve 20/-

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NEW BOOKS

THE VALUE AND DESTINY OF THE INDIVIDUAL*

It is not fair to recommend to the reader as "very interesting" or "very entertaining" a book which is far beyond the average comprehension, without giving some standard of its quality. Here is a book which to right readers will prove of most absorbing interest, suggestive, stimulating, occasionally provocative, in that it does not wholly accept the guidance of any one school; but it is a book addressed in the first place to the student of philosophy: it is not philosophy made popular. Yet, if we take the headlines of any single chapter—that, for instance, on the relations of pleasure and pain—they will certainly be attractive to every inquiring mind, however untrained. Here are a few of them quoted: "Pain—stimulation plus obstruction"; "True pleasure must include pain"; "Finiteness, not evil, the root of pain"; "Pain not a temporary curse"; "Pain transcended is value." All this seems part of some philosophical sermon to Suffragists and all social reformers; and so, indeed, in essence it is. But at the same time, when we come down from the headlines, it is only a minority who will be able to take in what the preacher has to say. In order, however, that the minority may not miss something that is good, we give here a sample from this, which is one of the easier chapters to understand:—

> In a certain sense our own theory does prepossess us toward some belief in an alleviation of pain as the world goes on. What suggests itself to us is not the abolition of the finite-infinite conflict and tension, but rather its more conscious realisation, one might almost say, its intensification. As any race of finite self-conscious beings gains mastery over itself and its experience, there will be a tendency, we may hope and think we see, to convert brute agony and dumb endurance and despair into spiritual conflict and triumph; to raise suffering, in a word, to the level of tragedy. The tragic element, it has been said, is the waste, the apparently objectless expense of spirit, as great characters destroy each other. It is a curious echo from a distant field of knowledge when we remind ourselves that in economics what is one sense the waste—the direct or non-productive expenditure on the splendour and enjoyment of human life and social celebration—is in another the end or raison d'être of the whole arrangement. If to be a means to nothing is a waste, then everything is waste which is an end in itself. So it may be with the tragic waste of spirit—the exhibition or realisation of the qualities that come nearest to perfection. All the empirical signs point to man's becoming more self-conscious, but wrestling at the same time—it is almost a tautology—with deeper and sharper problems. This is the direction in which it seems to me tolerably certain that suffering has been and is being transformed. The self-consciousness of labour in civilised countries, for example, is a commonplace of to-day. The full nature of reality will then be brought nearer and made clearer, but not as a truncated perfection, or one with its character dispersed through time—pain here and pleasure there—rather in a closer and closer concentration of experience, with tears made human by laughter, and laughter triumphant over tears.

That, as we have said, is one of the easier passages in a book which everywhere contains food for thought. Its sociological connection is clear, and right readers will not need to be told that it is interesting: to others it will be, perhaps, an indication that this study of their value and destiny as individuals is, at present, not for them. L. H.

VIOLETS

"The Violet Book," by A. and D. Allen-Brown (London: John Lane, 5s. net), gives in a very charming way directions as to violet growing and also the experiences of the authors in their first attempts at violet culture as a profession. What the writers do not know about violets is not worth knowing. They have personal experience and wide knowledge, embracing foreign as well as English methods of cultivation, and in different countries there are different ideas. In England, for example, it is customary to choose a cool place for the plants during the summer, but Monsieur Millet, the great French grower, maintains, and makes good his theory by results, that the summer sun is of great benefit in ripening the crown of the plant, and is an agent to be courted, not shunned. The axioms in the first part of the book are enforced and illustrated by the description of the authors' personal experiences in the second part, and anybody who wants to grow violets cannot do better than to buy and study this delightful contribution to garden literature. The coloured plates by Irene M. Johns add much both to the beauty and usefulness of the book.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"My Past." By Countess Marie Larisch. (London: Eveleigh Nash. Price 10s. 6d. net.)

"Mr. Fleight." By Ford Madox Hueffer. (London: Howard Latimer. Price 6s.)

"The Daughter in Law." By E. W. Savi. (London: Hurst & Blackett, Ltd. Price 6s.)

"First Aid to the Servantless." By Mrs. J. G. Fraser. (Cambridge. W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd. Price 1s. net.)

"Twentieth Century Magazine." (Boston, U.S.A.:—Twentieth Century Co. Price 15 cents.)

"Trade Unions." By Joseph Clayton. (London: T. C. & E. J. Jack. Price 6d. net.)

"Woman at Home." May. (3-12, Southampton Street. Price 6d. net.)

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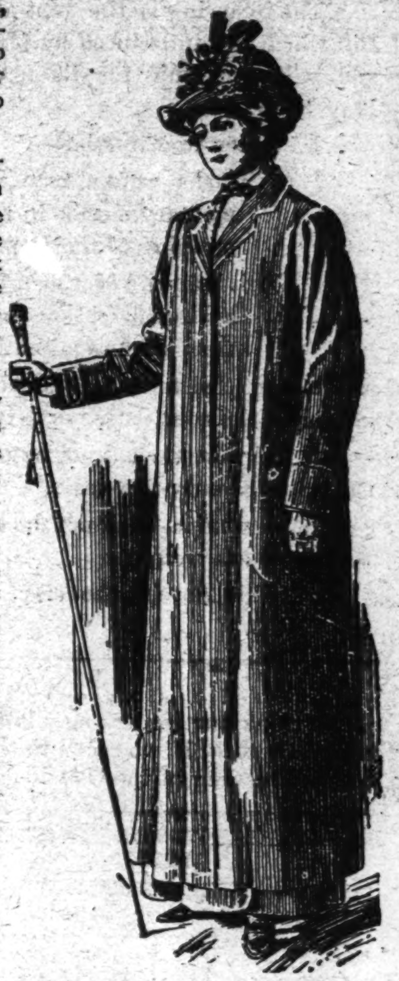
* The Gifford Lectures for 1912. Delivered in Edinburgh University by B. Bosanquet, LL.D., D.C.L. (Macmillan and Co., London. 1913. 10s. net.)

THE URBITOR BURBERRY

The permanent characteristic of the British Climate is its changeability—settled contrariety—changes of weather—which call for something out of the ordinary as protective covering



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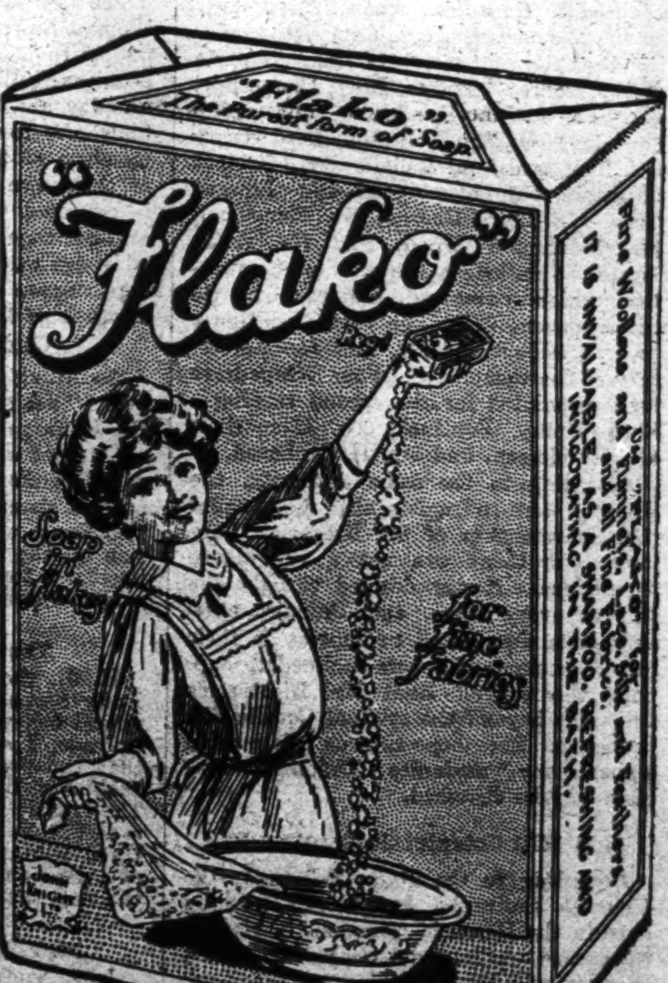
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"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

Colours: Purple, White, and Green

"Come on! Hold on! Fight on!"

The Editors and the Fellows associated with them in the great common purpose which all have at heart are looking forward with joyful anticipation to the first Reunion of the Fellowship in the Suffolk Galleries next Wednesday evening.

One thing we have learnt in the course of strenuous years of agitation: Successes do not *happen;* they are *achieved.* No real results are obtained without careful forethought and preparation and persistent, dogged work. Moreover—and here is another bit of knowledge gained from first-hand experience—though the service that can be rendered by each individual separately may seem so small as to be quite inadequate to the great situation by which we are confronted, yet no result is too great to expect from the sum of efforts made by a united body of workers.

Therefore our Christening Party next Wednesday is going to be a great success, fruitful of results and the new beginning of further achievement. And these few days that are left before May 7 must be and will be utilised by us all for the turning of that last stone which completes the work that has already been done.

The special gift card is in the hands of every Fellow. Let the record handed in next Wednesday be worthy of the traditions of generosity and sincerity in which this Movement is already so rich.

May 7 is the day set aside in France for the commemoration of the woman warrior and saint, Joan of Arc. So the Fellowship was specially happy in its selection of that date for its Christening Party. Any Fellows who wish to be present and have not yet received their card of invitation and admission should write at once to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, 4, Clement's Inn, W.C. A group of hostesses wearing rosettes of purple, white and green ribbon will welcome the guests at the door. And those who do not know many of their Fellows are specially invited to ask one of the hostesses to introduce them to the Editors of the paper and to other friends. No one must feel a stranger. That would be contrary to the spirit and ideal of our Fellowship.

A very large number of applications have been received for membership cards. We welcome our new colleagues most warmly. Let them in their turn recruit their friends, until we become a host of witnesses of the truth throughout the length and breadth of the land and also beyond the seas.

The Government have rallied afresh their forces of coercion in one more supreme effort to crush out the revolt that their own policy of denial of justice by fraud has created. They have attached to themselves three powerful allies—a biassed and subservient administration of the law, a subsidised and lying Press, and an incited and virtually police-protected mob of ruffians who are given to understand that they may maltreat women with impunity. With these three allies, and with all the weapons of physical force that they possess, they are fighting the Woman's Movement.

But we have all the forces of life, of destiny, and of time on our side, and we are not dismayed. We have the people on our side, too. Only the people have to be told the truth.

A campaign of slander and suppression is carried out deliberately day by day and week by week by the subsidised agents of the political parties with whom women are at war. And yet truth is so strong that give it half a chance it will vindicate itself, and will eventually put the lie to flight.

Who will give truth its chance? Who will tell the people? We ourselves, we must do it, we who are actually engaged in the conflict. Telling the people the truth is part of the battle. The support of the public must be gained and kept for the army of freedom that is in the field.

Fellows! This is the task which we have set ourselves. This is the absolutely definite and common purpose for which we have associated ourselves together.

We know and rejoice in the great triumphant strength of the Suffrage army, but we see just one position that wants reinforcement. There is too great a hiatus between those who are actively engaged in the struggle for the vote and the mass of the public, well disposed to the Woman's Movement, vaguely disgusted with the Government's policy of fraud, incitement and coercion, but too puzzled, too uninstructed with regard to the real facts, too unorganised to bring the weight of their opinion to bear upon the situation. It is in this great unrallied host of men and women that the Suffrage ranks have to find new reserves of strength. And it is the one business of the Votes for Women Fellows to address themselves to this public and to rally the outsiders to the support of the fighting forces. Editors, literary contributors, readers and Fellows are determined to fulfil this task to the utmost of their ability and endeavour.

In the pages of our paper, Votes for Women, we would tell the story, clearly and patiently setting forth the facts with regard to this movement, and revealing the spirit that inspires it. By the exhibition of our posters in every great and small railway station, and in the streets of towns and villages we would attract the attention of the passer-by. By our personal influence upon those who come within our circle of acquaintance we would seek to win new readers week by week. Every new reader we would turn into a herald, an advertising agent, a recruiting officer—what you will. Only by spreading the light will the powers of darkness be overcome. To all our readers we say: Join our Fellowship. Send for the membership card and sign it. Come on! Hold on! Fight on!

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(To April 29, 1913.)

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
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Mrs. Whitehead	0	1	0	Mrs. Newson	2	0	0
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FRIDAY, MAY 2, 1913.

A "FREE" VOTE?

On Tuesday evening next, after a debate extending over two days, the Woman Suffrage Bill is to go to a division in the House of Commons. The Prime Minister has given his specific pledge that the vote on this occasion shall be "free." What interpretation are we to put on these words?

Many Members of Parliament will give a ready answer. "A free vote," they will say, "means that the Government Whips will not be 'put on' for the division. If they be not appointed tellers on the present occasion, the Prime Minister's promise will have been literally fulfilled." We venture to challenge this view, and to say that it by no means covers the pledge given.

In a certain sense all votes given in the House of Commons are "free" votes. Neither the Prime Minister nor the Whips have any real power to compel a Member to vote in any other way than he himself pleases. It is open to him to defy them and take his own course. On the other hand, he very rarely does so, the reason being that he is under indirect pressure to conform. The Prime Minister can indicate through the Whips to an individual Member that recalcitrancy will be visited by withdrawal of the personal or public opportunities to which he is attached. Or in the case of a group of Members strong enough to turn the scale it may be pointed out that victory from their point of view will seriously embarrass the Government and may even bring about actual defeat and dissolution. Such considerations are generally strong enough to keep within the fold all but the most determined supporters of any Bill or amendment on which the Government have set their ban.

The public sign of the intention of the Government to take this view on any particular question is in general the putting on of the Government Whips as tellers. And this fact is so well recognised that a good party man will never vote against the Whips of his party. But it is entirely incorrect to go further than this and to say that the refusal to put on the party Whips is of itself a fulfilment of the pledge to leave the vote "free."

The essential of a "free" vote is the abstention by the Government and every member of it from any suggestion that the life of the Government or the interests of the party are involved in the decision. If, as was the case last January, individual Cabinet Ministers (and particularly influential ones) are permitted to spread through the members of their own and coadjutant parties in the House of Commons the plausible rumour that a vote favourable to Woman Suffrage will mean the resignation of this or that member of the Cabinet and the break-up of the Government, then the pledge that the vote shall be "free" has already been broken. The breach may not be so easy to detect as it would be if the Government Whips were definitely put on in flagrant defiance of the promise, but it will be none the less real and effective for all that.

Moreover, though direct detection may be rendered difficult or even impossible, there will be certain indications which those who have any experience of political meteorology will not fail to observe. In the present instance one of the most reliable guides will be the votes cast by the Irish Party. In personal opinions and in pledges given to their constituents the Irish Party are about equally divided on the question of Woman Suffrage, and when a genuinely free vote was given in 1910 and 1911 a preponderating number favoured the proposal. But in 1912 Mr. Redmond was able to inform his followers that he had been given to understand that it was to the interest of the Government to have the Bill defeated, and in consequence not a single member of the official Irish Party went into the "Aye" lobby on the occasion of the second reading. We shall look carefully to see how the Irish Party vote next Tuesday.

Then there are the members of the Liberal Party themselves. In 1911 they voted 145 to 36 in favour of Woman Suffrage; in 1912 the numbers had changed to 117 to 71. We may be quite certain that that reduction did not occur without some indication that it would be pleasing to the Liberal Cabinet. In particular, men like Mr. C. F. G. Masterman and Mr. Crawshay Williams, who call themselves Suffragists and who have everything to gain by keeping on the right side of Mr. Lloyd George, did not vote against the scheme which he professes to favour without forming a pretty decided opinion that he would be glad if they did so. We shall watch carefully for the votes of the Liberal Party, and particularly for those cast by Mr. Lloyd George's special protégés.

Finally, we shall watch for the votes given by Labour men; had they turned up in full force last year they could have just carried the second reading of the Bill. But 15 out of 40 absented themselves, and it was lost; if this happens again we shall realise either that they are very slack Parliamentarians or that they too are not wholly independent of Government pressure.

The question of the votes cast by Unionists does not come within the province of this article, because the wishes of the Government do not influence them, except perhaps negatively. Nevertheless, we shall include them next week in the analysis which we shall present to our readers of the votes given by the various sections of the House of Commons.

The essential fact to bear in mind, however, is that the pledge of the Prime Minister has been given for a "free" vote, and that we shall form our opinion as to whether this pledge has been kept or not by a consideration of the votes cast by the members of the Liberal and Irish parties.

WHAT WE THINK OF THE RAID ON THE W.S.P.U.

W.S.P.U. Headquarters Raided by Police—Six Arrests Made—Defendants at Bow Street

The latest act of coercion adopted by the Government against the revolutionary section of Suffragists is perhaps the stupidest thing they have done yet. The only effect that it can possibly have will be to stop the constitutional side of the movement and drive it entirely underground; there is not the slightest reason to suppose that it will operate to reduce the revolutionary activity of the Union; on the contrary, it seems not unlikely, judging from past experience, that it will have a precisely opposite effect.

When a little more than a year ago the Government swooped down upon the offices of the W.S.P.U. with warrants for the arrest of the Leaders, and brought a conspiracy charge against them, there were some people who imagined that at last this would put an end to the movement. But those who knew the lessons of history, and were at the same time students of human nature, formed a different opinion, and in the event these latter proved to be right.

Two things happened. Firstly, the Union added enormously to its strength. Secondly, more extreme counsels prevailed, and the policy of the Union changed from demonstrations in force to guerilla tactics of a revolutionary character.

This second raid and further batch of conspiracy charges against what may be called the permanent officials of the Union, combined with the closing down of the offices, is certain, in our opinion, to have a similar effect. We cannot believe that a body whose record in undetected crime is so extended as that of the W.S.P.U. during the last few months is likely to have been guilty of the amazing indiscretion of conducting its secret operations from its official headquarters, still less of keeping there incriminating documents, particularly in view of the repeated warnings which have appeared in the Press that this action was likely to be taken by the Government.

The Government have taken, therefore, an utterly futile step, and meanwhile they stand committed to a further elaborate conspiracy trial which will in the end only redound to their own discredit.

There is only one remedy which can cure the grave unrest among women of which the revolutionary campaign of the W.S.P.U. is a symptom. That remedy is time-honoured and essentially liberal. It consists in the removal of the grievance from which women suffer at the present day, and the inclusion of duly qualified women among the electorate of the country.

THE RAID ITSELF

Last Wednesday morning the headquarters of the Women's Social and Political Union at Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, were raided by Scotland Yard officers, the whole of the papers and documents of the organisation seized, the premises closed, and five Suffragists, the heads of various departments in the organisation, arrested.

On her arrival an hour after the premises had been closed, Mrs. Drummond was also arrested, and taken to Bow Street.

The raid was accomplished with great secrecy, and until the building was actually invested by twenty or thirty plain-clothes officers from the Special Political Branch of Scotland Yard, under Superintendent Quinn, the staff of the Union had no inkling of what was happening.

A few minutes before eleven the plain clothes officers began to concentrate on Kingsway, and an additional force of uniformed men of the Bow Street Division, under two inspectors, were drafted in to surround the building and keep the crowd away.

In point of fact, no crowd gathered. Few people, indeed, knew what was happening, and the sight of a sergeant and constable guarding the closed doors excited little curiosity, so accustomed is the public to associate the W.S.P.U. with the close attendance of police.

As eleven struck, Superintendent Quinn and two or three officers approached the main entrance and passed inside. Immediately the rest of the plain-clothes men, quietly in twos and threes, gathered and passed into the building. The doors of the entrance were closed and uniformed men stationed to prevent anyone from entering.

Superintendent Quinn was armed with warrants under the Malicious Damage to Property Act of 1861, for a search of the premises and the arrest of the leaders. The ordinary activities of the headquarters were being pursued in the several departments.

Miss Kenney was not there, and in her absence Miss Kerr was in charge. She and the other heads of departments were called from their rooms by the police and taken downstairs. There they were placed under arrest. They were Miss Kerr, Mrs. Sanders, Miss Lennox, Miss Lake, and Miss Barrett.

There was a little stir in Kingsway when they were brought out and taken to Bow Street. each woman accompanied by two plain-clothes men, one on either side, but there was no attempt at any demonstration by the few people standing about. Superintendent Quinn followed the procession to the police station.

Meanwhile the women clerks of the Union were told by the police that detectives were in charge of the whole building, and that they must go downstairs. They were detained while those arrested were escorted away, and then, after the name and address and condition of each employee had been taken, they were allowed to go.

A number of officers attached to the Special Branch then took in hand the business of thoroughly searching every nook and cranny of the building, and going through the whole of the mass of documents, papers, and correspondence in the various departments.

Each room was carefully searched, and every paper scrutinised. A number were seized.

The building then remained closed, with police stationed at the entrance.

AT BOW STREET

The six defendants were brought up at Bow Street before Mr. Curtis Bennett on Wednesday afternoon. They were all charged upon warrants with "conspiring together, and with Miss Annie Kenney, Mrs. Pankhurst, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and divers other members of the Women's Social and Political Union, to maliciously cause damage, injury, and spoil, in and upon property belonging to tradesmen and others, contrary to the Malicious Damage Act, 1861."

Mr. Bodkin conducted the case on behalf of the Director of Public Prosecutions.

In his speech Mr. Bodkin intimated that it was the intention of the prosecution to take steps to bring about the suppression of the *Suffragette*, the organ of the W.S.P.U., and that it might be made a criminal offence for persons to contribute money to the funds of the W.S.P.U.

Counsel, in opening the case, explained that the proceedings were taken on the instructions of the Director of Public Prosecutions, with a view to putting down what had become a danger to a civilised community, and to traders and others in this country. An organisation, of which the six defendants were prominent and active members, known as the Women's Social and Political Union, had been the cause of an enormous number of crimes, involving damage to property and risk to life and limb, and a vast amount of inconvenience to the public had for months past been brought about almost daily.

"That these six persons are amongst the ringleaders of that organisation will be abundantly clear to you, sir," Mr. Bodkin went on, "when the evidence comes to be given before you. This organisation continues to carry on its nefarious practices, notwithstanding repeated warnings; for this is the second time within twelve months I have stood before you to deal with the case against the ring-leaders.

"These warnings have been entirely disregarded. If anything the number of crimes, and the seriousness of the crimes committed by this encouragement, have increased. In three ways this organisation has furthered its unlawful objects.

"Firstly, by speeches of a violent and inflammatory character, addressed to large numbers of emotional females, members of the organisation, in public places in London and elsewhere. That must be stopped.

"Secondly, by an organ known as the *Suffragette*, which has been week by week distributed broadcast and in large numbers, giving encouragement to persons who commit crimes against property. It appears week by week, and gives full approval to those who have fortunately been detected by the police. That organ must be put a stop to, as a continued danger to society in disseminating literature of that kind, and writings of that kind.

"Third, as to money. It is necessary for an extensive organisation of this kind, and, if the statements in this paper are true, large sums have been obtained from persons who would appear to be sympathisers in its criminal objects, and I desire to give here a fair and public warning that if any person makes a speech in encouragement of this course of conduct, proceedings will be immediately taken against that person.

"Also, that if there is any printer who can be found, after this warning, to print and publish the literature of these women associated with the Women's Social and Political Union, he might find himself in a very awkward position as an 'aider and abettor' of these persons in carrying out their objects.

"And if persons who have money cannot find better use for it than to have it used for the commission of crime, they also will be in a very awkward position if they are discovered.

"The warrants which were granted yesterday, by yourself, for the arrest of these six persons, were effected to-day. Some of the arrests took place at the headquarters of this organisation in Kingsway, and a large quantity of writings and printings has been taken possession of, and is in course of being taken possession of, by the police, as bearing upon, and as being evidence of, the crime which is here charged against these people.

"It is impossible for me to open this case before you to-day, because time must be given, I submit, to properly arrange and deal with the mass of material of which the police are in possession, and therefore I am going to ask for a remand to an early date to enable me to deal with the case fully on that next occasion.

"I would only say this, as being very germane to the proceedings of to-day, that serious as this charge is—and founded upon evidence which discloses a most serious state of things, as stated in the information before you—yet it is not known until these documents and papers are gone through whether charges may not have to be made of a still more serious character."

Without adding anything further to those observations, said Mr. Bodkin in conclusion, he would ask for a remand upon evidence of arrest.

Evidence of arrest having been given, the magistrate then remanded prisoners until Friday, remarking that he would allow no bail.

Mr. Marshall, for some of the prisoners, was about to address the magistrate on this point, when Mr. Curtis Bennett interposed firmly: I say "no bail."

Mr. Marshall: Will you hear me upon it?

The Magistrate: I have said, "No bail."

On the application of Mr. Hall, the magistrate agreed to allow prisoners to see their friends, but restricted the concession to "one friend each."

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

On Wednesday afternoon, Mr. Keir Hardie asked the Home Secretary whether he had any information to give concerning the raid on the offices of the W.S.P.U. this morning; the number of arrests that had been made; under what Act action had been taken; and whether there were any special reasons for this new development.

Mr. McKenna: I understand that five arrests have been made this morning by the police, who entered Lincoln's Inn House, the headquarters of the W.S.P.U. The police so acted because that Union is an association of persons which is charged with conspiring to commit criminal offences.

QUESTIONS ON FREE SPEECH

In the House of Commons last Wednesday, Lord Robert Cecil asked the Home Secretary (1) whether, in view of the declaration by the Nottingham police authority that they do not intend to afford police protection for suffragist meetings, however peaceable, the Government are prepared to take any and what steps to secure to the subjects of his Majesty the exercise of the right of free speech; and (2) whether his attention has been called to an announcement by the Nottingham police authority that no police protection could be afforded to any suffragist meeting held in the city; whether such announcement applies both to militant and non-militant societies; what justification there is for such an abdication of constitutional duty; and what steps the Government proposes to take in the matter?

Mr. McKenna: I have made inquiry, and am assured by the Mayor of Nottingham that no such announcement or declaration has been made.

Lord Robert Cecil: May I ask the right hon. gentleman whether his attention has been called to the issue of the *Manchester Guardian* of April 24, which says:—

"The Nottingham Watch Committee last night decided that no police protection could be afforded at any suffragist meeting held in the city, and sent out a notice to the managers of all public halls that to allow them to be used for that purpose was conducive to disorder, and could not be sanctioned."

Mr. McKenna: No, Sir, my attention has not been called to the report referred to by the Noble Lord, but it is obviously founded on inaccurate information.

Mr. Wedgwood: I suppose if the police do not protect these meetings other people can go and do so.

Mr. McKenna: I am unable to say.

April 24

Mr. Newman asked the number of constables in the Metropolitan area that were detailed for special duty on Sunday, 20th instant, in connection with public meetings held or attempted to be held on behalf of the agitation for female suffrage; the approximate hours that such constables were on duty; and what compensation, extra pay, or allowance is granted to constables who are thus called upon to lose their Sunday holiday?

Mr. Ellis Griffith: It would be contrary to practice, and I do not think it would be in the public interest, to state the number of constables employed and the hours they were on duty on the occasion referred to. No extra pay or allowance is given to the constables so employed, but they will be compensated for any loss of leave on the day in question by being given leave on another day.

CAN GOVERNMENTS YIELD TO FORCE?

Lord Macaulay's Answer

We are indebted to the Rev. George E. Startup for having recalled to our memory, through the medium of a letter to the *Manchester Guardian*, the fine speech made by Lord Macaulay during the Reform Bill Debate on August 3, 1831. One passage in it is so applicable to the present crisis that we reproduce it in full:—

"Is delay no evil? Is prolonged excitement no evil? Is it no evil that the heart of a great people should be made sick by deferred hope? . . . What, then, it is said, would you legislate in haste? Would you legislate in times of great excitement concerning matters of such deep concern? Yes, sir, I would; and if any bad consequences should follow from the haste and the excitement, let those be held answerable who, when there was no need of haste, when there existed no excitement, refused to listen to any project of reform, nay, who made it an argument against reform that the public mind was not excited. . . . Half the logic of misgovernment lies in this one sophistical dilemma—if the people are turbulent they are unfit for liberty—if they are quiet they do not want liberty. . . . But reformers are compelled to legislate fast, because bigots will not legislate early. Reformers are compelled to legislate in times of excitement, because bigots will not legislate in times of tranquility."

THE RIGHT OF PUBLIC MEETING

Strong Protest in "Manchester Guardian"—Feeling in the Country

The *Manchester Guardian*, last Wednesday, devoted a considerable portion of its space to a discussion of the whole question of Free Speech, with special reference to the police prohibition of Suffrage meetings. In a strongly worded leading article, it deals with letters published in its columns from Miss Evelyn Sharp, Mr. Lyon Blease, and Mr. Mitchell (Men's League for Women's Suffrage), and sets forth the position clearly.

From the "Manchester Guardian," April 30

Some difficult and important questions of law and public policy are raised in two letters and an article that we publish this morning. Let us first get our facts clear. They are, briefly, these. On April 15 Sir Edward Henry, Chief Commissioner of Police for London, wrote to the Secretary of the Women's Social and Political Union to say that he had advised the Home Secretary that "it was not practicable by any police arrangements" to prevent disorder at the meetings of the Union in Hyde Park, and that the Home Secretary had accordingly instructed him to do what he legally could to prevent such meetings from being held. The Home Secretary has, of course, no power to proscribe any meeting; his intervention in the matter amounts to no more than an opinion that the police might do what the law allowed them to do. What the law allowed remained to be seen. On April 28 meetings were held in Hyde Park both by the W.S.P.U. and also by the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, which had been at the trouble to obtain permission from the First Commissioner of Works to hold the meeting—a permission that was quite unnecessary because it could not make a lawful into an unlawful meeting, or vice versa. All the meetings were broken up by the police, and the sole ground on which this could be done was that they were unlawful assemblies. The first question, then, is, What is an unlawful assembly? A further question is raised by Miss Sharp's letter to us to-day. She says that the women at the meetings were escorted to the gates of the Park, and there, so far as the police were concerned, left to the mercies of a crowd of hooligans. Had they been under arrest for crime, it would have been the duty of the police to protect them against lynch law. Should this protection be denied to people not under arrest and doing no wrong? Very similar questions are raised by the action of the police in Nottingham, upon which we publish an article from a correspondent whom we sent to make inquiries. In Nottingham the police were threatened with an action for damages in consequence of their failure to protect a suffragist meeting in a hired hall to which a gang of middle-class rowdies had gained access. Another meeting was advertised in another hall, and the Nottingham police intimated to the owner that they would not be responsible for any damage that was done. The owner, in consequence, withdrew his agreement to let the hall, and the meeting was not held.

What is an Unlawful Assembly?

What, then, is an unlawful assembly? Sir James Stephen, in his "Digest," distinguishes two clear cases. If A and B assemble to commit a breach of the peace, or intending to commit a crime, they are clearly an unlawful assembly. The Home Secretary seems to have tried to bring the meetings of the W.S.P.U. under this head, for he gives as one of his reasons that "it is the avowed policy" of the Union "to advocate the commission of crimes." The policy of the Union, however, is not necessarily the intention of a particular meeting convened by the Union; and in any case the Home Secretary's contention goes too far, because it would, if tenable, make all meetings of the Union, whether in a park or in a room, unlawful assemblies. The second case mentioned by Stephen is more difficult. An assembly may be unlawful, even though its purpose be lawful, if it gives "firm and courageous persons in the neighbourhood reasonable cause to fear a breach of the peace in consequence of the assembly." That does not mean that any rowdies, by threatening to break up a meeting by violent means, can convert a lawful assembly into an unlawful one. That was settled once and for all in the famous case of Beatty v. Gillbanks. The magistrates at Weston-super-Mare had convicted a Salvationist because he resisted the police who were trying to prevent the Salvation Army from holding a procession which might, it was feared, as feeling ran high in the town, lead to rioting. "The finding of the justices amounts to this," said Mr. Justice Field, "that a man may be convicted for doing a lawful act if he knows that his doing it may cause another to do an unlawful act. There is no authority for such a proposition."

Another judicial dictum, in an Irish case, goes nearer to the contention of Sir Edward Henry. "If danger arises from the exercise of lawful rights resulting in a breach of the peace, the remedy is the presence of sufficient force to prevent that result, not the legal condemnation of those who exercise that right." Sir Edward Henry seems to admit, by implication, that if he had sufficient force it would be his duty to protect the W.S.P.U. meetings, for he says it is not "practicable by any police arrangements to obviate the possibility of" disorder. We cannot believe it. The same force of police which would suffice to break up a meeting without danger to life and limb in the face of a hostile crowd would suffice to protect it.

Are the Police to Judge?

The true explanation, we fear, in this case as in Nottingham, was that the police could have given protection but did not think the trouble worth taking because those holding the meeting were suffragists. But think how far this doctrine, that the police are to be the judges of what civil right is or is not worth their troubling to protect it, would carry us. Many Liberals were not popular during the Boer War; Home Rulers are not popular in parts of Belfast. Are the police to throw up their duty of protecting citizens in the exercise of their lawful rights because feeling is running high? That is to say that they are to do their duty except when their duty most needs doing. It is to dethrone the law of the land for mob-law.

These questions have nothing whatever to do with our opinions on women's suffrage or the policy of the W.S.P.U. Everyone who has views about anything that may some day be unpopular is equally concerned to enforce the rules of constitutional liberty; and if he refuses to take the right side now, he is helping to abrogate his own liberties later. But the complaints against the police go further than the denial of the right to hold a meeting. In Hyde Park the right of protection from personal violence was denied, or at any rate protection was not in fact given. Our own view is that the meetings in Hyde Park, so long as the speakers refrained from urging their hearers to commit crime, were not unlawful assemblies. The dictum of the Home Secretary cannot make them so: nor can the apathy of the police. But even if they were, and the women who took part in them were the worst of criminals, they had still a right to personal protection. Similarly, at Nottingham, the police cannot, by simply announcing that they will not do their duty of protecting life and property from violence, contract out of their responsibility for the consequences that ensue.

A Sorry Confusion

The whole business exhibits, on the best construction, a sorry confusion of ideas. If the women concerned in these cases are doing wrong, then they should be placed under arrest. If they are only exercising a legal right, then it is the duty of the police to protect them in its exercise. In either case they have a right to protection against personal violence. The police neither arrest them nor protect them in the exercise of their rights, and they refuse the personal protection which is the right of the worst criminal. For suffragists substitute the adherents of any cause which at any time or place is or ever will be unpopular, and we begin to form a true conception of the danger to constitutional liberty which threatens, not this or that section, but all of us alike. For there is no Englishman worthy of the name who does not at some time or other in his life hold opinions which are thoroughly unpopular.

The following extracts from the letters referred to in the above leading article may be of interest to our readers.

From Miss Evelyn Sharp's Letter

Into this crowd the police in every case elbowed their way till they reached the woman, whom they pulled to the ground, in one case at least breaking up her platform. They then conducted the woman (to all appearances under arrest) to the gates of the park, where they let her go in the midst of gangs of hooligans who had collected there for the purpose of mobbing her. Had it not been for the real protection of decent men, not one of these women could have escaped unmolested. If this is police protection, Suffragists are better without it. To us who have had experience of Government tactics, it is a reversion to methods which disgraced Parliament Square in November, 1910.

Coercion begets coercion, and the passing of such Acts as the Discharged Prisoners Act is already bearing fruit in the suppression of free speech and the adoption of methods to enforce that suppression which are more characteristic of Russia than of England. One of the women conducted to the park gates under police protection on Sunday has been to prison twice before, I am told, in the name of free speech—once under the flag of the Socialists, once under that of the Salvation Army. If the Government and the police chose they could still make disorder out of any Socialist or Salvation Army gathering as easily as they are making disorder out of Suffragist meetings. They would not dare to attempt it. If Liberals were Liberals, the Government would equally not dare to attempt it in the case of women who are demanding their constitutional rights.

From Mr. J. M. Mitchell's Letter

The essential point is the question of freedom of speech. The League is well known as a constitutional body, and has never sought to override or neglect police regulations. Yet in a Royal park a hundred rowdies are able, in spite of a large force of the police, to prevent our being heard, and, so far as I know, not one was arrested for interfering with the police in the discharge of their duty.

From Mr. Lyon Blease's Letter

I submit that in this action of Mr. McKenna we have reached the point of constitutional danger. It is not, so far as I am aware, alleged that the speeches delivered at these Hyde Park meetings have been in the nature of incitement to crime or of provocative insults of the audience. In either of these cases it would have been the duty of the Government to prosecute the women, or to compel them to find securities. It appears that nothing has happened except that the mob has grown so large and so brutal that the force of police previously employed has been found insufficient. The clear constitutional duty of the Government is to increase the members of the police. They have more than once turned out hundreds of men to prevent a "deputation" from reaching Mr. Asquith. It is just as clearly their duty to turn out hundreds of men to prevent these Hyde Park ruffians from maltreating women Suffragists. In taking the slovenly course of prohibiting the meetings and threatening to withdraw such protection as they have hitherto afforded they are violating the Constitution. Of the grotesque appearance of a Liberal Government in thus departing from all Liberal precedents I say nothing. Their abandonment of their legal duty is plain, and their party may yet have to lament their vicious example.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE

Sir William Byles asked the Home Secretary on Wednesday afternoon whether the police order prohibiting meetings in Hyde Park has had the result expected from it of preventing disturbance of the peace; and if not, will the said order be now withdrawn and the ancient freedom of public speech be restored.

Mr. McKenna: The result of the police action in Hyde Park has been that no serious disturbance of the peace has taken place. It is not proposed to modify the instructions given to the police, which, as I have already pointed out, applies only to meetings promoted by organisations which are endeavouring to further their cause by criminal acts.

Mr. Keir Hardie asked whether the Home Secretary was aware that on Sunday last a meeting of the Men's Political Union was broken up in Hyde Park owing to lack of proper police protection.

Mr. McKenna: Police protection was given, but where a crowd is of such a size as it was in Hyde Park on Sunday last, it is impossible to ensure complete police protection.

Mr. King: Will the right hon. gentleman himself go there next Sunday and see what goes on?

No answer was given to that question.

Sir William Byles: Was not the disturbance last Sunday greater than ever, and would it not be advisable to return to the old fashion of freedom for the tongue as well as for the pen?

Mr. McKenna: The hon. gentleman is confusing two separate circumstances. A meeting was allowed in Hyde Park last Sunday and it caused a great disturbance, other meetings were not allowed, and there was less disturbance in consequence of these meetings not being allowed.

A MEN'S PROTEST

The Men's League in Manchester has passed the following resolution:—

"That this League protests against the action of the authorities in prohibiting meetings of a section of women suffragists in London as unnecessary, and setting up an undesirable precedent, which will provide a constant menace to freedom of speech and the liberty of the subject. While deprecating all violence, it considers it an unwarrantable and unjust discrimination to punish women for incitement thereto in England while men in more responsible positions are allowed with impunity to incite to far more serious crime in Ireland; and believing that the present disturbances are the direct outcome of the failure of the Government to deal in a statesmanlike manner with the question of the suffrage, it is of opinion that the only certain and honourable way to preserve the peace lies in a speedy fulfilment of its promises to the women of the country by the introduction of a Government Bill for the enfranchisement of women."

Similar protests have been made by various Labour organisations. Brixton, Kensal Rise, and West Kilburn branches of the I.L.P. have passed resolutions strongly condemning the inactivity of the Labour party in connection with the Government's prohibition of Suffragist meetings, and also for refusing to support Mr. Keir Hardie in his attempt to defeat the Cat and Mouse Bill. Copies of the resolutions passed are being circulated with a request that other branches of the I.L.P. will join in the protest.

The Dock, Wharf, Riverside, and General Labourers' Union has passed a resolution, in which it views with disgust the Government's despicable methods in suppressing the W.S.P.U. meetings in the Metropolitan area, and demands the abolition of the order.

The Belfast Inciters

The Gasworkers' Union has adopted a resolution protesting against the cowardly conduct of the Government in ignoring the incitement of political firebrands of the Carson type, while it prosecutes noble men and women for demanding equal political powers for both sexes. It also extends its sympathy to Lansbury and others in their time of trial.

The Paddington branch of the National Union of Clerks have passed a similar resolution indignantly protesting against any action being taken on charges of inciting to breaches of the peace, &c., against Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Drummond, Miss Kenney, and George Lansbury, while wealthy people such as Sir E. Carson, F. E. Smith, Bonar Law, and others, who incited the populace to riot and rebellion in Ulster are allowed to go free.

The London Branch of the Domestic Workers' Union, all the London branches of the B.S.P., and the Westminster Adult Schools (Men) have also passed resolutions condemning the action of Mr. McKenna, and others have been carried by the Marylebone and District Trades and Labour Council, the Labourers' Minimum Wage Movement, Marylebone Branch I.L.P., the Clapham Branch of the National Union of Vehicle Workers, the Seedley Branch of the B.S.P., and the Stratford Branch of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen.

"THE MOUTH OF DISCONTENT"

The Free Speech Defence Committee, of which Mr. Josiah Wedgwood, M.P., is Chairman, sent a strong letter on the subject of the prohibited meetings last week to Mr. McKenna, in the course of which they say:—

We earnestly beg you, therefore, to consider the results that must ensue if the Home Office persists in trying to suppress these or any other meetings, and continues to use antiquated laws to close the mouth of discontent. We beg you to withdraw from this course, cancel the recent Order of Prohibition, and abandon the prosecutions before it is too late. We urge you to consider:—

That such measures are against the whole spirit of any Government that can call itself Liberal.

That they are unconstitutional, being directed against established popular liberties.

That the police and officials are paid servants of the public, whose function is to further public order and convenience, but never to dictate what kind of public opinion is to be tolerated or stifled.

Finally, that such suppression of public gatherings and of personal speech is useless to effect its own ends, and only serves to drive the movements against which it is directed underground, and to make them more dangerous and revolutionary in character. And, in protesting against these and similar measures, we believe that we have at our back the mass of thoughtful and self-respecting citizens of the country.

THE TRAFALGAR SQUARE MEETING

Up to the time of going to press we are informed that the police permit has not yet been received by the conveners of the demonstration to be held in Trafalgar Square next Sunday at 3.30, under the auspices of the Free Speech Defence Committee. The speakers will be Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., Mr. Josiah Wedgwood, M.P., the Hon. J. Martin, M.P., Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, Mr. George Lansbury, Mr. John Scurr, and others, and great crowds are expected to attend.

THE CAT AND MOUSE ACT

With indecent haste, the Cat and Mouse Bill was passed through all its stages in the House of Lords on Thursday in last week, the Committee and Third Reading stages occupying exactly one minute. It received the Royal Assent last Friday, and now stains the Statute Book of the Realm.

LORD HALDANE "REGRETS"

On the order for the second reading of the Prisoners (Temporary Discharge for Ill-health) Bill, the Lord Chancellor said he did so with a special regret that it should be necessary. Although the Bill was of general application, it was notorious that it was directed to a certain class of prisoners—women who had engaged in acts of violence, and who had been properly sentenced for the offences they had committed. They were actuated by no sordid or personal motives, but by a sense that they were fighting for what they considered to be their liberties. In 1909 there began the movement on an extensive scale for these prisoners refusing food; they preferred to starve, and the prison authorities were placed in the dilemma that either the prisoners must be released, and thereby their sentence not being served justice would be defeated, or they must be forcibly fed. Considerations of health might prevent the latter alternative, and the difficulty was that release from the sentence would mean release altogether, there being no power of release for a period. The system of release applied to prisoners under sentence of penal servitude could not be applied to such cases, the period served would be so short. The Bill provided for temporary release on an order from the Home Secretary on conditions, one of which would be the return to prison at the end of a stated period, the currency of the sentence being suspended during that period. The effect of the Bill would be that there would be no advantage to a prisoner to go out if he had to return to finish his sentence, which might be spun out over an indefinite time. As they could not contemplate anarchy in any form, those who administered the law were receiving additional powers by the Bill to deal with the situation. So far as he could judge, these would be effective in a large number of cases. There would be no necessity for forcible feeding, though the power of such feeding, however, remained. Last year twenty-six out of 240 Suffragist prisoners were released because of the risk caused to their health. Fifty-seven of the prisoners had been forcibly fed. This year, out of seventy prisoners, ten had been forcibly fed and four had to be discharged. There were half a dozen of the hunger-strikers who, if the Bill did not receive the Royal Assent to-morrow, would be able to walk out of prison and could not be taken back. Therefore he asked their Lordships to pass the Bill through all its remaining stages that day.

The Opposition is "Reluctant"

The Marquess of Salisbury said that it was with considerable reluctance that the Opposition gave their assent to such a course as that suggested by the Lord Chancellor. In ordinary circumstances they did not think it would be the proper way of dealing with legislation affecting, as this did, to some extent the liberty of the subject. At the same time, they recognised the difficulty in which the Government was placed, and in the present instance felt that they must abate somewhat their rights in this matter. If the Bill were effective no one would congratulate the Government more than the Opposition, for the present condition of anarchy must be put down, and whatever powers were necessary he was sure their Lordships would cheerfully give to the Government. But the Bill was the Government Bill.

Viscount Haldane thanked their Lordships for assisting the Government in a difficult and disagreeable position. It was an emergency Bill, and the Government were doing the best they could in the only way they could.

The Bill was then passed through all its stages without discussion.

PRESS CRITICISM

A JUSTIFIABLE FEAR

Mr. McKenna did not put the case for it very high. He admitted that he could give no security that the conditions of the licences would be kept, but pleaded that he had no alternative except to discharge prisoners who would not take food and could not with safety be forcibly fed. With regard to this class he would be "somewhat better off" than before. Some of them might escape, but then some others could be brought back to prison. If they go out of jurisdiction altogether, then the Home Secretary, like Dogberry, thanks God that he is well rid of them. This, of course, is lax justice. And we are afraid it will not work out as good Liberalism.—**Nation.**

QUITE SIMPLE!

It is singular that a Government which has looked on with a tolerant eye while all kinds of outrages were perpetrated in Ireland, and decried coercion when applied to that country in unmeasured terms, should ask for coercive powers against English women. But this is what has been done, and the explanation is simple. The people who commit outrages in Ireland are men, who can make themselves heard in the ballot-boxes. The people who commit outrages in England are women, who have no votes, and therefore no opportunity of making their influence felt. This fact in itself is a sufficient proof of the need for votes for women. In any case, the "Cat and Mouse" Bill is a childish measure. It will be just as likely to stimulate fresh outrages as to prevent outrages. The difference it makes in the position is too small to be worth taking into account.—**Nottingham Guardian.**

THE PLAIN THINKER

Suffragists, by a distortion of facts, may seek to persuade people that it is their cause, and not the illegal presentation of it, which is being attacked. They may even persuade themselves that they are political martyrs. But plain-thinking folk, unhampered by the subtleties of suffragist "logic," will be disposed to say that if they are subjected to the inconvenience of suffering a full measure of punishment for crimes committed they have only themselves to blame.—**Birmingham Post.**

ONLY WHAT HE SOWS

Whether it will secure all the blessings that have been claimed for it is very doubtful. Indeed, the majority of members, when discussing the matter afterwards, seemed all but agreed that the Home Secretary will reap no advantage whatever from a piece of legislation of such a character.—**Cork Free Press.**

THE IRISH TREASON

We might add, if such considerations had any longer any weight with the Irish Party, that it is a Bill which flagrantly violates all Liberal principle, and tramples on every claim that the Irish Party has made in the past for the political treatment of political offenders. Yet the Irish Party, which by a word could have stopped the Government from introducing this Bill, permitted it to be brought in without a word of protest, and lent it enthusiastic support at every stage.—**Irish Citizen.**

WITHOUT FEAR

Ladies who have already not feared to incur six separate sentences are not likely to shrink from one sentence divided into six separate parts. From their point of view it is to be feared that the situation is not very much changed by the new Act. —**Sunday Times.**

SHE MAY

To all appearances they are cornered. It is not wise, however, to underrate the ingenuity of woman. She may find a way out of this new difficulty, and put the Home Secretary to confusion. — **Eastern Morning News.**

MADE IN AMERICA ONLY

President Wilson is showing much more tact in dealing with the Suffragists than the British Cabinet Ministers. He receives deputation after deputation, and, while maintaining a strictly non-committal attitude, listens to them all with so much courtesy that they go away feeling happy, and hopeful that he will end by getting off the fence on the right side. . . . American newspapers are assuring us (with a frequency and fervour which suggest a hint of panic) that they infinitely prefer the American brand of Suffragists. American women, likewise, greatly prefer the American brand of statesman, in their treatment of women. — **A. S. B. in the "Woman's Journal."**

THE EMPIRE'S OPINION

THE VOTE—OR PROMOTION?

We have reached a stage when nothing practical is done, or even attempted, to prevent these people turning the whole country upside down. Mr. McKenna was transferred from the Navy to the Home Office on the principle of putting incompetence out of harm's way. Now that his presence is becoming dangerous, he ought to be promoted again.—**Times (of India.)**

AUSTRALIA'S PERCEPTION

Not unnaturally, the women have become exasperated, and now that a responsible male Government has condescended to play upon them a succession of unworthy tricks—hoping to tranquilise by fooling them—the Suffragettes have been endowed with an excuse for violence which must go a long way towards condoning their offences—at all events in the estimation of a people whose women are not considered the political inferiors of criminal white men and naturalised negroes. — **The Age.**

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

Wednesday, April 23.—An illegal meeting held, late on Wednesday night, after we had gone to press, by members of the Women's Freedom League in Trafalgar Square; three Suffragists arrested.

At Free Trade Hall, Manchester, three windows broken, also an explosion after concert; no one hurt, no clue, but Suffragists suspected.

On Wednesday wires cut in several telephone boxes at Norwich.

Thursday, April 24.—Attempted explosion at Northumberland County Council Offices, Newcastle; Suffragists suspected, one window broken.

Three letter-boxes attacked at Sheffield.

Friday, April 25.—Supposed attempt to burn football stand at Deepdale, Manchester; two portmanteaux packed with inflammable material found near entrance.

Saturday, April 26.—Railway carriage on London and South-Western Railway, standing on siding near Teddington, partly destroyed by fire.

Supposed attempt by Suffragists to burn Great Eastern Railway Station at Westmill, near Buntingford.

Sunday, April 27.—Perthshire Cricket Club Pavilion, Perth, completely destroyed by fire; damage estimated at £1,250. Photographs, relics, and records burned; Suffragists suspected, though no clue.

Doors of Colchester Golf Club daubed with paint and the words "Votes for Women."

Over thirty telegraph wires cut at Oadby, a suburb of Leicester.

Monday, April 28.—In Hyde Park, about fifty minutes before the King arrived to review the Guards, a Suffragist, who was apparently about to address the crowd, was seized by policeman and removed.

Wednesday, April 30.— Lincoln's Inn House raided and taken possession of by police, six of the staff arrested.

IN THE COURTS

Thursday, April 24.—At the Bow Street Police Court, before Mr. Curtis Bennett, charged with obstructing the police, Mrs. Despard, Miss Nina Boyle, and Mrs. Julia Wood; fined respectively £5 or 14 days' imprisonment, £3 or 10 days', and £2 or 7 days'. All three went to prison. The following day fines paid by person unknown.

At the Marlborough Street Police Court, before Mr. Mead, charged with causing obstruction by selling papers, Mrs. Helen Clarke and Miss Olive Clapson; fined 10s. 6d. each.

Friday, April 25.—Application made to Justices Ridley and Avery, sitting as a King's Bench Divisional Court, for a rule nisi directed to Dr. Wharry, calling on him to show cause why he should not be committed for alleged contempt of court (for refusal to allow writ to be served on his daughter). Rule granted.

Saturday, April 26.—At the Bow Street Police Court, before Mr. Dickinson, charged with being disturbers of the peace and inciters of others to commit crimes and misdemeanours, Miss Annie Kenney, Mrs. Drummond, and Mr. George Lansbury. Miss Kenney's case opened; all adjourned till Saturday, May 3, at 2.30 p.m. Bail allowed.

Wednesday, April 30.—At the Bow Street Police Court, before Mr. Curtis Bennett, charged with "conspiring with others, and particularly with Mrs. and Miss Pankhurst, to commit damage, or with having committed offences contrary to the Malicious Damage to Property Act, 1861, Mrs. Drummond, Miss Kerr, Miss Barrett, Mrs. Sanders, Miss Lennox, and Miss Lake; remanded in custody until to-day (Friday).

MRS. PANKHURST

Mrs. Pankhurst is still lying ill at the house of a friend in Norfolk Square, where she was removed in an ambulance from the nursing home last week. At the time of the expiry of her licence—4.30 last Monday afternoon—a large crowd of supporters filled the street in front of the house, from the balcony of which hung purple, white and green tricolours. The force of police and detectives who had surrounded the house from the moment of Mrs. Pankhurst's arrival in it were largely reinforced as the day wore on. What would a stranger have thought of the scene had he arrived from abroad and been driven through the square? He might have guessed many things, but not that those flags were waving defiance to a coercionist Government, and that within the house from which they flew lay the woman who was being made the test case of a shameful Coercion Act.

The Home Office Hissed

The Home Office took no action until midday on Tuesday, when Dr. Smalley, accompanied by Superintendent Quinn, walked through the crowd to the accompaniment of a storm of groans and hisses, and they were admitted to the house. Shortly afterwards they emerged again, but without Mrs. Pankhurst. The crowd again testified their contemptuous hostility to the representatives o the Government.

The Home Office Statement

The following official statement regarding Mrs. Pankhurst was issued from the Home Office on Tuesday:—

"Mrs. Pankhurst having failed to comply with the condition of her licence, which required her to return to Holloway Prison before 4 p.m. on the 28th inst., the licence was revoked, and a warrant was issued for her arrest.

"This morning Mrs. Pankhurst was visited by the Medical Inspector of Prisons, who has reported that her condition of health is such as to render her removal to prison inadvisable for the present. The execution of the warrant has, therefore, been deferred."

The W.S.P.U. Statement

The W.S.P.U. also issued a statement to the effect that Mrs. Pankhurst refused to be examined or to answer any questions, "and after a moment the doctor bowed and went out. Dr. Smalley said she was too ill to be moved, and that the licence would be renewed. Then he and Superintendent Quinn thanked Mrs. Ayrton profusely, and went out, and were again booed."

MR. FRANKLIN

Under the provisions of the Cat and Mouse Bill, Mr. Hugh Franklin was released from Wormwood Scrubbs last Monday in a very grave state of health. He states that he has been forcibly fed 114 times, resisting on every occasion, and succeeding once in barricading his cell door. He has been under observation for the last three weeks, and underwent one mental examination. His licence, which he tore up, specifies Monday, May 12, as the date for his return to prison.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE

Mr. Touche asked the Home Secretary last Tuesday the total number of times, up to the most recent date, when Mr. Hugh Franklin has been forcibly fed, and is his physical condition still unimpaired?

Mr. McKenna: I would refer the hon. member to the reply I gave to his previous question on Tuesday last. Forcible feeding of this prisoner was discontinued after the 25th of this month, but as he still persisted in his refusal of food, I ordered his temporary discharge under the Prisoners (Temporary Discharge for Ill-health) Act, and he was released accordingly yesterday morning.

Mr. Touche: Will not the right hon. gentleman say how many times this prisoner was forcibly fed?

Mr. McKenna: I answered that question last Tuesday.

Mr. Touche: No. I asked a similar question last week, but did not get an answer.

Mr. McKenna: Speaking from memory, I think it was something upwards of 100 times.

Mr. Touche: Does that constitute a record?

Mr. McKenna: I cannot say.

Mr. Franklin's Letter

At a meeting in the Kingsway Hall on Tuesday evening, held by the Men's Political Union, Mr. H. W. Nevinson, from the chair, read a letter from Mr. Franklin containing the following passages:—

"As I am the first who has had the honour of displaying in a practical manner contempt for the Cat and Mouse trap, I want to tell you what it feels like to be lying weak and safely shut up in bed, with the cat serenely parading in a dark blue uniform, strutting to and fro with its back up, just beyond the bars of my cage.

"I am supposed on Monday, May 12, to wend my way to Wormwood Scrubbs Prison, ring the bell, and, like a naughty little boy, stammer forth, 'Please, sir, I've come back to be punished.' I may not lose myself in the intervening fortnight. I am told I shall be adequately looked after so long as I place my movements in the hands of that benevolent old gentleman, the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police. . . . All these precautions, however, are but to make assurance doubly sure, since the spring which keeps my mouse-trap closed—namely, ill-health—is not likely to release its pressure much before that day of penitence, May 12.

"When the Governor handed me the paper on which these instructions were written, I said, 'I refuse to acknowledge the terms of this licence,' and straightway tore it up. By that action I intend to stand. I intend to ignore the licence completely, as I consider I have already suffered far more than nine months' imprisonment (especially as I had been offered the first division if I ceased the hunger strike, and was led to expect a reduction in the length of my sentence). Therefore I shall consider that, if any further imprisonment be inflicted on me, there would be just one little item lacking—namely, an offence."

CAMPAIGN AGAINST FORCIBLE FEEDING

In continuance of its campaign against forcible feeding, the North-Eastern centre of the National Political League is arranging a series of public meetings of protest in the North. The miners and working men of Northumberland and Durham are unanimous in their demand that forcible feeding be abolished for ever, and that the Government penetrate to the cause of the present disorder, for which its apathy has been responsible, and deal with the grievance in the only just way—by granting "votes for women."

THE W.F.L. PROTEST IN TRAFALGAR SQUARE

Just after eleven o'clock on Wednesday evening in last week, a grey motor-car drove solemnly up to Trafalgar Square. Out of it stepped four or five women, headed by Mrs. Despard, and carrying a short ladder. This they placed against the plinth of the monument, and in another moment, long before the police could collect themselves or their wits, a flourishing open-air meeting was in full swing, while an audience was being assembled in a charmingly simple manner by another member of the Women's Freedom League, who stood at the south-east corner of the Square ringing a bell. At first only loafers gathered round; but they were quickly outnumbered by returning theatre-goers, who gathered round in hundreds, according to the *Manchester Guardian*, so that the speakers "got a very fair hearing from a great audience."

Mrs. Despard's Speech

Mrs. Despard said that they had chosen this hour as the most effective one in which to make their protest against the prohibition of the right of free speech. The question was whether the country was to lose the liberty their forefathers won for them. She knew perfectly well they were breaking the law, but law was not for women. The injustice was at present done to women only, but she wanted her audience to realise that the liberties of men were also in danger. She appealed from the Government to the people. The Government had dealt very unfairly with the women, and disappointed them again and again. Now Mr. McKenna was practically king. He could do as he liked with the House of Commons, and it was against his tyranny, his interference with their liberties, that she called on the people to protest.

The police, who at first were quite helpless, waited for reinforcements, and, when these arrived, mounted the plinth and arrested three women, Mrs. Despard, Miss Nina Boyle, and Mrs. Ward. They were all taken to Cannon Row and charged with obstruction.

IN THE POLICE COURT

All three women were brought up on Thursday morning before Mr. Curtis Bennett at Bow Street Police Court.

Mr. Muskett, who prosecuted, stated the facts, saying that no public meeting was allowed to be held in Trafalgar Square without four days' notice. Incidentally he mentioned that to reach the plinth was a "somewhat severe climb."

Mrs. Despard: Not at all.

Continuing, Mr. Muskett said that Mrs. Despard, who was addressing a crowd of about 500 people, refused to get down, so had to be lifted down; when she refused to go away she was arrested on a charge of obstruction, as were the other two defendants.

Mrs. Despard: Was there any real obstruction?

Witness: Only that you refused to leave the plinth when I asked you. You took hold of the lion.

Police-sergeant 57 A, cross-examined by Mrs. Wood, said he did not hear her say in reply to the charge, "What be to be, be to be."

Mr. Muskett: I am not surprised he did not understand it.

Mrs. Wood: It is good classical Scotch. (Laughter.)

Speeches for the Defence

Mrs. Despard, addressing the magistrate, said that, being practically an outlaw, she had nothing to do with the jurisdiction of the Court. She had her reason for what she did. If it had not been for the prohibition of free speech in Hyde Park this protest would not have been made. Women had not been allowed the same liberty and latitude as men to say what they liked, and she spoke with special knowledge, because she had taken part in some labour agitations. She had been five times arrested, and three times in prison, but she had never consciously hurt anything or any person. She cared not in the least what the sentence of the Court might be, and if she was fined she hoped no one would pay the fine. So long as there was breath in her body she would continue to protest against the injustice that was done in this land.

Miss Boyle declared that she looked upon courts of justice with supreme contempt, and she was amazed that gentlemen should accept salaries to administer a law which they knew to be infamous. Turning round and addressing the people at the back of the court, the defendant said: "I hope the public will understand we are fighting for them."

Mrs. Wood said this was her first appearance, but it would probably not be her last.

The Sentences

The magistrate imposed a fine of £5, or in default fourteen days in the second division, upon Mrs. Despard; and a fine of 60s., or ten days, upon Miss Nina Boyle; and of 40s., or seven days, on Mrs. Wood.

Previous to judgment being given, Mr. Muskett said with regard to Mrs. Despard: "Having regard to the lady's advanced age and state of health, and the fact that it is true that she has never been guilty of any acts of violence, I would ask you to impose the shortest term of imprisonment you might think fit."

Mrs. Despard: My health is perfect, and I am able to bear anything my sisters are able to bear. I do not wish any favours shown to me.

Who Paid the Fines?

On Friday the three prisoners were unexpectedly released from Holloway Gaol, their fines having been paid by persons unknown.

A request to see her private secretary having been refused to Mrs. Despard in prison by the Governor, who advised her to petition the Home Secretary, she at once replied that she would not think of petitioning Mr. McKenna for anything, and pointed out that the Governor, under Rule 243A, had the power to grant her request in full. She stated that if they had been men political prisoners it would have been granted.

Again the Governor advised "petitioning." "Then," said Mrs. Despard, "I will sit in prison, and neither bite nor sup shall pass my lips until the authorities capitulate."

She was released shortly afterwards.

Miss Boyle stated afterwards to a representative of the *Daily Herald* that she took the opportunity of telling the prison doctor what all decent people thought of him for the part he had taken in the brutality of forcible feeding, and as she did not regard him as a decent practitioner, she refused to allow him to examine her.

THE INCITEMENT CHARGES

Case Adjourned Again

Mrs. Drummond, Miss Annie Kenney, and Mr. George Lansbury appeared at Bow Street, before Mr. Dickinson, last Saturday, to answer the charge of inciting to violence by inflammatory speeches, and to show cause why they should not be ordered to enter into recognisances and find sureties to keep the peace and be of good behaviour. The case of Miss Kenney was taken first, and, after an interesting argument as to the interpretation of the Act of Edward III. under which the summons had been issued, another adjournment was ordered.

An enthusiastic crowd of men and women filled the street outside, and loudly cheered the defendants, both on arriving and leaving the court. As only about sixty people could be accommodated inside the court, the rest of the great crowd had to remain outside, where they spent the three hours of waiting in singing the "Marseillaise" and the Land Song. A poster procession of woman Suffragists were also loudly cheered.

MISS KENNEY'S CASE

Miss Kenney, having taken her seat in the dock, Mr. Bodkin submitted that the speeches she had made were absolute justification for the course the prosecution were asking should be taken, namely, to put her under recognisances to be of good behaviour.

In answer to a question by Mr. Muir, Mr. Bodkin replied that such a course was justified by years and, indeed, centuries of practice. It had been recognised in case after case, and was derived from the power and duty of the justice as a conservator of the peace, and was expressed in a carefully considered judgment of the late Lord Fitzgerald.

In the course of the evidence for the prosecution it was alleged that in the Metropolitan area alone, between January 28 and April 18, there had been twenty-two cases of window-breaking, six cases of incendiarism, four cases of damage to golf-links, and 560 cases in connection with pillar-boxes.

For the Defence

For the defence, Mr. Muir submitted that there was no evidence upon which the magistrate had power to bind the defendant over. The judgment of Lord Fitzgerald that had been referred to, and many other similar judgments, were based upon the supposed authority of the Act of 34 Edward III., but it was clear that that Act as it stood in the Statutes of the Realm was a mistranslation of the original French. The section conferred upon justices of the peace an addition to the powers they at that time possessed, and the true translation of the second clause was as follows:

"And also to inform themselves and to inquire touching all those who have been plunderers and robbers beyond the sea, and are now returned and go wandering and will not work, as they were used to do before this time, and to take and arrest all those whom they are able to find by indictment or by suspicion, and to put them in prison, and to take of all those who are of good fame, where they shall be found, sufficient security and mainprise for their good bearing towards the King and his people, and the others duly to punish."

In the translation as it stood in the statute book the word "not" was inserted before the words "of good fame." Counsel supposed it was common knowledge now that the reason for that was that, many years ago, some clerk set to transcribe the statute in book form transcribed it with the word "not" in it, and the book form being the more convenient for reference, had been copied ever since, until matters came to be investigated and the roll itself referred to. That was the history of it.

"A Person of Good Fame"

Mr. Dickinson asked if Mr. Muir alleged that his client was a person of good fame.

Mr. Muir: Yes.

Mr. Dickinson: Then if your contention is correct, what is to prevent me from ordering her to find sureties?

Mr. Muir replied that the section did not mean that every person of good fame was to be bound over. It must be confined to those who, being of good fame, had nevertheless "been plunderers and robbers beyond the sea and now go wandering." It was clear that the Act did not mean persons who were not of good fame, because if it was read in that way the justice was to bind over persons not of good fame and "the others duly to punish," which was mere nonsense.

Mr. Dickinson said he thought "the others" were those who could not find sureties.

Mr. Mathew said that the word "not" did not appear in the original document in the Record Office, and that the statute was intended to apply to disbanded soldiers who would not go back to work. Mr. Dickinson acquiesced in both statements.

Mr. Bodkin Objects

Mr. Bodkin, replying, said he did not consider it necessary to pursue antiquarian researches into the origin of a practice that had been in existence for centuries, and had been discussed by judges on numerous occasions. He had not gone closely into the question of how the statute-roll was produced in those days; but it might be that the scribe was himself inaccurate, and that the statute was afterwards put back into its original form. That seemed to be quite as reasonable as the suggestion that someone put the word "not" in. These proceedings were never intended to be taken under that statute itself, because the power to order sureties for good behaviour to be given was derivable from commission, which began long before the Act of Edward III. If the magistrate was of opinion that he had jurisdiction from any source, statute or commission, counsel asked him to at once take the course of ordering the defendant to enter into recognisances so that preventive justice might be applied at the earliest possible moment. There would, he pointed out, be plenty of opportunity of questioning the validity of any decision.

Mr. Muir having appealed for an opportunity to submit further argument, the magistrate said he would order an adjournment to next Saturday at 2.30 p.m.

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AGAINST COERCION

At an extraordinary meeting of the Federated Council of Suffrage Societies, at which the chair was taken by Miss M. A. Broadhurst, the recent attitude of the Government to the Suffrage question was discussed. Great indignation was expressed at the methods of the Government, and after a prolonged discussion the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

"That this Federated Council of Suffrage Societies desires to place on record its strong condemnation of the cruel and degrading method of forcible feeding as at present practised in His Majesty's prisons under this Liberal Government. It desires also to call public attention to those coercive measures of the Government by which the liberty of subjects of this country is infringed, and in particular (1) to the attempted limitation of the right of free speech, which has been achieved through centuries of struggle; (2) to the subversion of the old and fundamental principle of English law that a person is innocent until proved guilty by the powers given to the police under the Prisoners' (Temporary Discharge for Ill-health) Bill to arrest licensed prisoners on suspicion only. Further, it calls upon the Government to put an immediate end to the whole deplorable conditions which have been brought about by the weakness, delays, and dishonesty on the women's franchise question of a Cabinet which the Prime Minister himself has acknowledged to have two-thirds of its members in favour of the reform, and of the House of Commons, which has admitted the justice of the principle by a majority of 167.

"It urges that the refusal under these circumstances to do justice is a dishonour to the country, and is leading to this disastrous policy of coercion, and it therefore calls upon the Government to prevent disorder in the only possible way by the enfranchisement of women, and so remove the grievance which is the cause of the present discontent."

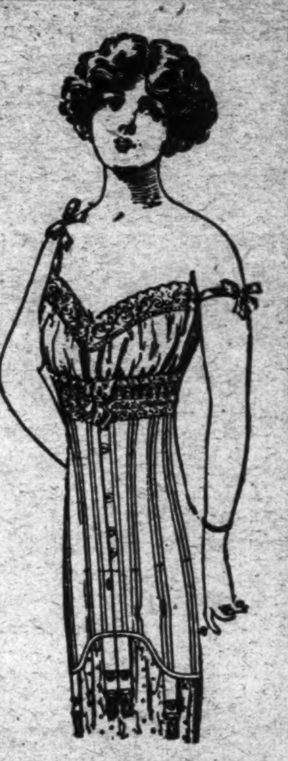
DEPUTATION TO MR. REA, M.P.

After a resolution demanding a Government measure was carried enthusiastically at a recent meeting it was decided to send a deputation to wait on the Right Hon. Russell Rea, M.P. On the following day a deputation, including Mr. Newby, Mr. Downs (secretary of the Railway Servants), Mr. Gummidge (of the Shop Assistants), Mr. Johnstone (secretary, Independent Labour Party), Mrs. Thompson (board of guardians), Mrs. Brook, and Miss Laura Ainsworth (organiser of the National Political League), waited upon Mr. Russell Rea at the Royal Hotel, South Shields. A strong appeal was made that Mr. Russell Rea should make a more firm and independent stand for woman suffrage without undue regard to the ties of party, and protests were raised against his support of the Government in their policy of forcible feeding.

"A Believer"

Mr. Russell Rea, in his reply, maintained that he was a believer in the cause of woman suffrage. He felt, however, that although a Government measure was the only satisfactory measure, no such measure could be expected while Mr. Asquith was Prime Minister. While deploring forcible feeding, the law must be maintained and something attempted to prevent militancy.

Further protest meetings have taken place in South Shields, Tynemouth, Jarrow, Cullercoats, Newbiggen, Percy Main, and Newcastle. A large meeting has been arranged in Newcastle for May 23.



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CORRESPONDENCE

JOAN OF ARC AND THE FELLOWSHIP

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—From the copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN that have struggled through to me on my wanderings in the South of France, I learn of your Christening Party on May 7. The same date is fixed, I see in the French papers, for the commemoration of St. Jeanne d'Arc. The coincidence may be intentional; it is, at any rate, a happy one. I have just left the Chapelle de Ste Jeanne d'Arc, formerly La Chapelle des Bonnes Nouvelles, in the beautiful old church at Carcassone. There were two French ladies in front of the altar, and I could not resist asking them to pray for the woman who to-day is fighting their battle. "Elle a beaucoup soufferte," they replied sympathetically.

This is a sample of the little opportunities one can find, even in more remote places, for a casual word that may bear fruit. Occasions for protracted discussion also have not been lacking, and it was amusing to meet a political agent of the most advanced Republican views (in other respects), who based his opposition to women's suffrage on an honest conviction of the innate superiority of his own sex. In such cases I do my best, but the torrent of meridional eloquence is apt to be overpowering.

Another coincidence. This is being written in the train on April 24, and that also is a date which should be dear to believers in the courage and prowess of women. Not many days ago a stiff walk over Mte. Portofino (east of Genoa) and a steep, winding descent by stony paths brought my wife and me to the tiny deserted monastery of San Fruttuoso, now inhabited only by a handful of fisher-folk, more remote from the world in their rock-bound creek than were the monks of two centuries ago. Here are stately tombs of princes and admirals of the Doria family, but in the same vault yet one other has been placed, of more moving appeal. It protects the remains of a fisher-girl and of a few soldiers and sailors whose bodies were recovered from the waves. A tablet on an adjoining cottage thus tells the story:—

"So that there may ever be kept alive and in honour of the memory of the sisters Caterina and Maria Avegno, who, on the 24th April, 1855, emulating the hardy valour of men inured to the chances of the sea, the former at the peril and the latter at the very sacrifice of her life, carried aid to the Italian soldiers proceeding to the Crimea on the British transport Croesus, then wrecked in this inlet whither she had run for refuge from the horrors of an unquenchable fire, now on this fiftieth anniversary of the brave deed, the Civic Administration of Camogli, under the presidency of Cav. Andrea Schiaffino, raises this memorial. Where the heroines were born and lived, may they sleep in peace."—Yours, &c.,

F. A. BATHER.

"MILITANCY FOR NON-MILITANTS"

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—We are holding a meeting at the Suffrage Club, 3, York Street, St. James', on Wednesday afternoon, May 7, at 3.0, in order to (if possible) form a Union to carry out the suggestions recently made of Militancy for Non-Militants.

We shall be glad if those who are interested in this question will attend the meeting.—Yours faithfully,

CHARLOTTE E. R. IRELAND.
21, St. James' Road, Tunbridge Wells.

THE MARCH FROM HORSHAM TO BRIGHTON

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—May I appeal through your columns on behalf of a series of marches which the Marchers' "Qui Vive" Corps intend to make during the summer months. The long march from Edinburgh to London proved conclusively that marches are an attractive form of propaganda, and speaking from first-hand knowledge, I can affirm they are as profitable as attractive. They are most effective in arousing and educating the country-side, where Suffrage propaganda seldom penetrates; they afford opportunities for coming into close relationship with many phases of life, with which women alone can deal; and they provide a wide scope of experience for those who participate, and an education for which, I am sure, they will always be grateful.

Every Suffragist should adopt some form of openly showing sympathy with our Cause, and the march from Horsham to Brighton, now advertised in your paper, is an opportunity by which this may be done, at the cost of pleasant companionship and small financial expense. The Cause for which we strive is a worthy one, and must be made to *live* in the public mind. We must bring it to the doors of those who will not heed us. Who will help?—Faithfully yours,

FLORENCE DE FONBLANQUE
(Hon. Organiser and Leader).
60, West Street, Horsham.

THE MOVEMENT IN AMERICA

AMERICAN SUFFRAGE ADVANCES

Close on the news of the Pennsylvania victory, given in last week's VOTES FOR WOMEN, comes a Reuter telegram to the effect that the members of the United States Committee on Women's Suffrage (now a majority and no longer a minority Committee) have decided to report favourably on one of several pending resolutions to amend the Federal Constitution of the United States in order to give women the franchise. This resolution will be brought up in the Senate under the auspices of the Chairman, Mr. Thomas, and a determined effort will be made to pass it this session.

Text of the Resolution

The text of the resolution is as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein) that the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

ARTICLE.

Section 1.—The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Section 2.—The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article.

◆

THE WOMAN'S VOTE IN WASHINGTON

The newly enfranchised women of Washington State are justly proud of the success of their agitation for the repeal in the State Legislature of the obnoxious corroborative evidence law, by which, in cases of assault upon children, a boy's evidence could be accepted without the corroboration of another witness, while a girl's under similar circumstances was not held valid in law. Through the repeal of the law, largely owing to the efforts of Mrs. Frances Axtell, backed by the women voters of the State, the jury is now free to accept the evidence of either a boy or girl victim of outrage. The necessity for the repeal may be found in the fact that there have been many convictions lately on the Pacific Coast of these moral perverts in connection with boy victims; whereas not a single conviction, for want of the required corroborative evidence, has taken place in connection with an eight-year-old girl, the victim of twenty-six men, and now suffering from an incurable disease. The child could give the names and addresses of nearly all the offenders, according to the account in the *Western Woman's Outlook*, the organ of the Washington State Federation of Women's Clubs, but no third person had witnessed any of the assaults, so her evidence was not valid. The repeal of the law will make the escape of such men as these impossible in future.

◆

HER "REPRESENTATIVE"

An American actress, Miss Hope Booth, has been telling the *Detroit Journal* how she was converted to Woman Suffrage. "It was no speech nor any parade that converted me," she says. "One woman converted a whole group of show people in New York City. I was one of that group." The one woman was a laundress who came to wash for several of the actresses at one of the theatres there. They then learned that she had a twelve-month-old daughter, that there would soon be another baby, and her home had to be given up because the taxes had increased so enormously.

"You ought to see that lower taxes are voted in your ward," they said to her.

"Oh, yes; but women have no vote," she explained.

"But your husbands are your representatives," said the "show group" in a chorus.

"My representative deserted me and my baby three months ago, and is now 'representing' me somewhere in Australia!" was the woman's reply.

"The whole of us have been equal Suffragists ever since," adds Miss Hope Booth.

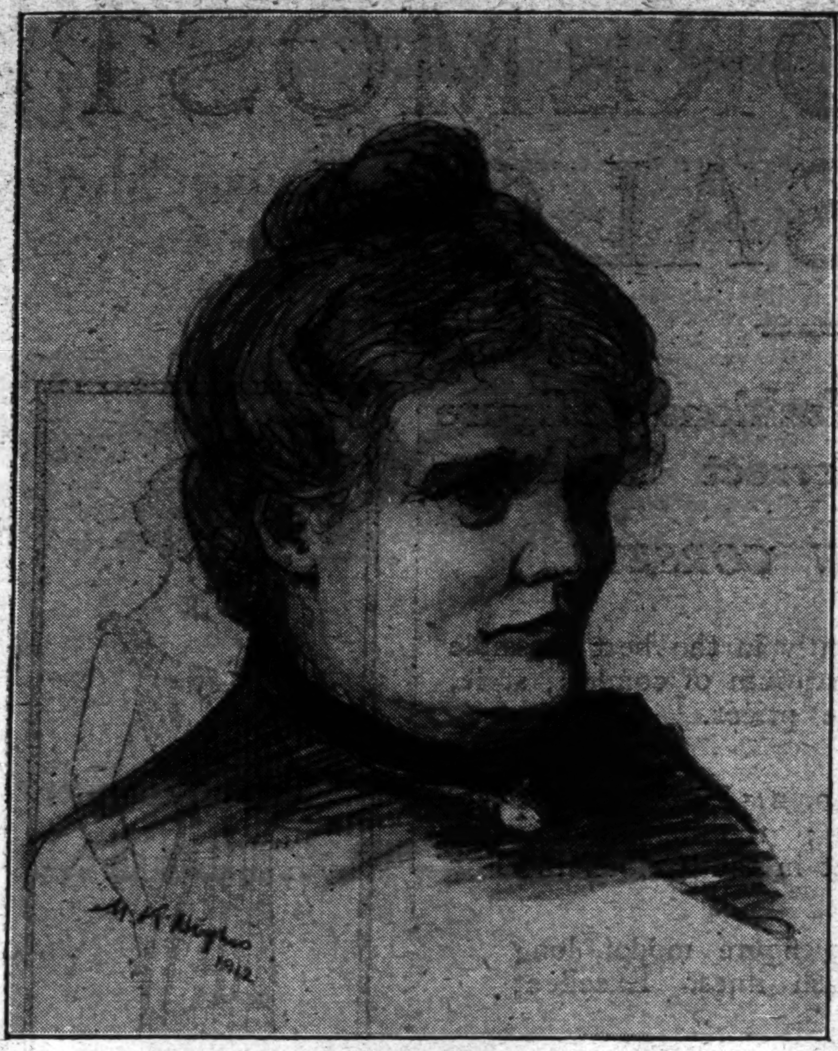
◆

A REAL TOAST

Here's to the woman with many a care,
Who sits all day in an office chair,
And at night, when her day's work is through,
Goes home and finds more work to do;
Gets up in the morning and cooks and scrubs,
And wrestles around with laundry tubs;
Yet the usual hour finds her smiling there,
Beside her desk, in the office chair.
If she's strong enough these burdens to tote,
Here's to the State where they let her vote!

—*Judge.*

AN ICELANDIC PIONEER



FRU ASMUNDSSON
(From a drawing by M. K. Hughes.)

VOTES FOR WOMEN IN ICELAND

The Political Prospect

We have received the following account from a correspondent:—

The cause of Votes for Women in Iceland is progressing, though perhaps rather slowly. The Althing, or Icelandic Parliament, has passed a Bill to give women political suffrage, but it can only become law when it has passed a second time. In the meantime an amendment of the Constitution is needed, and new elections must take place. As with us in England, members of all political parties are willing to give women's suffrage, but they are not agreed on other things in the Amendment Bill. If a word be changed in the Bill, the Althing has to be suspended and new elections take place. Now, though the new Icelandic Minister is very keen for women's suffrage, it is feared he will not risk his position by a fresh election. At present the Icelandic Suffrage Societies are busy collecting signatures to a petition which they are intending to send to the Althing this summer.

An Icelandic Pioneer Woman

Whatever success the Icelandic Women's Suffrage has had in the past, and hopes to have in the future, will be largely due to the endeavours of Fru Asmundsson. Here we find a clever woman, ahead of her time, with great powers of organisation and a broad outlook, working against tremendous odds. She was the first Icelandic woman to give (in 1887) a lecture on women's rights, and to write on the subject. Her articles appeared in the "Fallkman," edited by Herr Asmundsson, whom she married in 1888. By 1894 the time was ripe for the publication of a woman's paper, and Fru Asmundsson became the editor of a monthly, a post she has held ever since. She founded in 1907 the first Suffrage Association in Reykjavik, and was elected as President. Later on she travelled round the country, forming branches of her Icelandic Women's Suffrage Association, which is affiliated to the International Women's Suffrage Alliance. These journeys were lonely and tedious, and in a country practically without roads had to be taken on horseback. As the population is very small and scattered, the work Fru Asmundsson accomplished was carried out under the greatest difficulties. As soon as the women got the municipal vote she was one of the four elected as councillor, and acted as such for four years. She is a member of the School Board of Reykjavik, where she lives, working away, too, at various other reforms with great activity.

M. K. Hughes.

MEDICAL WOMAN'S SUCCESS

Miss Frances Margaret Harper, who has just been awarded the diploma in tropical medicine and hygiene, granted jointly by the Royal College of Physicians and Royal College of Surgeons, is the first woman to gain such a distinction. Miss Harper is a Fellow of the Society of Medical Officers of Health, and at present outdoor house surgeon at the west end branch of the Glasgow Maternity Hospital, and medical officer of the Leysian Mission Dispensary.

HOW MEN'S VOTES WERE WON

We recommend the following poem by Whittier to the perusal of those young hooligans in Hyde Park who mob women Suffragists, forgetting how men's votes have been won for them:—

Our hearts grow cold;
We lightly hold
A right which brave men died to gain;
The stake, the cord,
The axe, the sword,
Grim nurses at its birth of pain.

For pearls that gem
A diadem,
The diver in the deep sea dies;
The regal right
We boast to-night
Is ours through costlier sacrifice.

—**Whittier.**

PRESS HUMOUR—CONSCIOUS AND UNCONSCIOUS

"EVEN" LIBERTY!

How Suffragettes can imagine that such outrages will in any way assist them in getting the vote is past human comprehension, and must only tend to convince even their supporters that they are too irresponsible to be given anything—even liberty.—**Mayfair.**

A WONDERFUL PEOPLE

The English are a wonderful people. They are getting up a great agitation against ill-treatment of political prisoners —in Portugal!—**Irish Citizen.**

NO HARM IN HOPING

"As the result of the Suffragette raid, there have been record attendances at the Monument during the past few days. On the day following the incident, the attendance totalled over 2,000—more than 600 in excess of the previous record," says a Sunday paper. We believe that since reading this several theatrical managers have been hoping for a Suffragette raid on their playhouses.—**Globe.**

HOW ABOUT DOMESTIC SERVANTS?

It is easy to see why the average spinster female, such as those who are in the forefront of the present campaign, has no rights. She performs no duties. She is by no means indispensable. She cannot withdraw her services, nor threaten to do so, because she gives none. If women were in a position to withhold their services as wives and mothers, we should very soon yield to their demands.—**Vanity Fair.**

A JOKE

Mr. Birrell received unwelcome attention last week when he visited the Kingsway Theatre to see "The Great Adventure," a lady in the pit addressing him loudly by name and asking why he did not resign. To prevent the recurrence of these undesirable interruptions, it is proposed that in future directly a Cabinet Minister sets foot within a theatre he shall be waited on by the manager, who will provide him with a property disguise.—**Punch.**

THE ECONOMIC QUESTION

He: "If you lost me you'd have to beg for money."

His wife: "Well, it would come natural."—**Judge.**

SUFFRAGISTS IN PRISON

In Holloway Gaol

Name.	When Sentenced.	Length of Sentence.
Miss Louisa Gay	Jan. 9	8 months
Mrs. Maud Brindley	Feb. 7	5 "
†Miss Pleasance Pendred	Feb. 23	4 "
Miss Jane Short	" "	6 "
Miss Margaret Macfarlane	Mar. 20	5 "
Miss Olive Hocken	April 4	4 "
Miss Annie Bell	April 22	3 weeks
Mrs. Drummond	April 30	Remanded
Miss Kerr	" "	"
Miss Barrett	" "	"
Mrs. Sanders	" "	"
Miss Lennox	" "	"
Miss Lake	" "	"

At Manchester

Mrs. Lilian Forrester	April 23	9 months
Miss Evelyn Manesta	April 23	5 months

† Being forcibly fed.

IN THE PRESS

THE SUFFRAGE BILL

ALLIED COERCIONISTS

If it is not killed on the Second Reading, the Government and its Irish allies will take some subsequent opportunity to profit by the differences between suffragists in Parliament to which the framing of the Bill has given rise, and by playing upon these to kill the Bill.—**Irish Citizen.**

HOPEFUL!

Present indications are that the Suffragette cause will be defeated for a third time when the Dickinson Bill comes up for discussion in the House of Commons next week.—**Evening News.**

REASON—IN FULL SWAY

If the Commons give the vote to women now, or until militancy has ceased and reason has resumed its sway, they will be holding a firelight to the devils of disorder and social disaster. — **"Dux" in the "Sunday Chronicle."**

ANYTHING BUT!

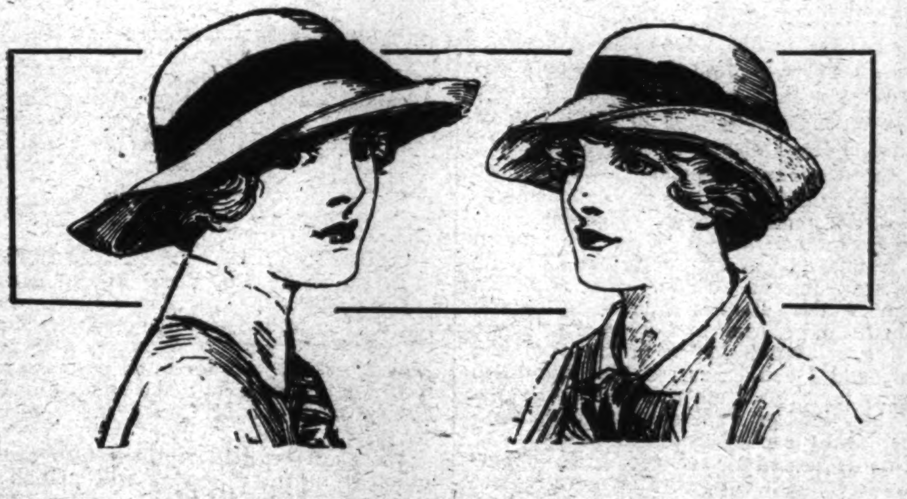
There are many members of the House pledged to women's suffrage who are anything but enthusiastic about it. If they are present when the division takes place they will vote for the Bill, but most of them, I learn, do not intend to be present. —**Manchester Courier.**

VOTES FOR MOTHERS

The *London Budget* reproaches itself for not having more constantly and emphatically advocated and demanded votes for women. It is a disgrace to men and a cruel injustice to women that mothers should be forbidden to share in the making of the laws. . . . . When a man opposes woman suffrage and laughs at the idea, you may say to him, "Either you are a fool, ignorant, and wilfully unjust, or you have been surrounded by very bad women from the beginning. You may be pitied for that, but you have no right to oppose justice to other women better than your own." Women ought to vote, and they will vote. The man who opposes woman suffrage disgraces himself, and he indirectely casts reproach upon his own mother and upon the other women that he has known.—**London Budget.**

THE FICKLE MOB

What does the public do now? It hoots the police for depriving it of an opportunity to hoot the Suffragettes. Some women on Sunday, trying to hold improvised meetings, were told by the police that these meetings might not proceed. The public, already rioting so that these Suffragettes should not be heard, immediately began to riot in favour of free speech. "Are we in Russia?" it said. Clearly the public thinks that speeches should be allowed, if only that it may assert the right of every free citizen not to listen.—**Saturday Review.**



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COMING EVENTS

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak at the Town Hall, Saffron Walden, to-day (Friday) at 7.30 p.m. The chair will be taken by Mr. Baillie Weaver. Tickets, 2s. 6d. to 6d., obtainable from Mr. Hart, Stationer, Saffron Walden.

The Women's Freedom League will hold a meeting at the Caxton Hall to-night (Friday), at 8, to proclaim "What we Think of the Government and its Administration of the Law." The speakers will include Mrs. Despard and Miss Nina Boyle. Tickets, 1s. and 6d., obtainable from the W. F. L. Office or at the Hall.

The Woman's Freedom League will also hold a reception at the Caxton Hall on Monday, May 5, at 3.30 p.m., to meet Mrs. Chapman Catt, President of the Women's International Suffrage Alliance. Speakers: Mrs. Chapman Catt, Mrs. Despard, and Miss Nina Boyle. Tickets 1s., obtainable at the W.F.S. Office. On Wednesday, May 7, there will be a public meeting at the Caxton Hall at 3.30 p.m., when Mr. Laurence Housman will speak on "The Relation of Physical Force to Self-Government."

The Forward Cymric Suffrage Union will hold a meeting at the Bromley Public Hall, Bow Road, E., on Monday, May 5, at 8 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mr. George Lansbury, and Mrs. M. E. Davies. Should Mr. Lansbury be unable to be present at the meeting, Mr. Frank Smith and the Rev. D. Roberts Lane will speak. Chair: Mrs. Mansell Moullin.

The Free Church League for Woman Suffrage announce their annual (public) meeting at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, E.C., on Tuesday, May 6, at 7 p.m. Chair: Mrs. Strickland. Speakers: Miss Abadam, the Rev. T. Rhondda Williams, the Rev. A. C. Hill, and the Rev. C. Fleming Williams.

Dr. Saleeby and A. Hamilton, Esq., will speak on "Divorce Law Reform and the Royal Commission" at the Suffrage Club on Tuesday, May 6, at 8.30 p.m. Chair: The Lady Willoughby de Broke.

The reunion of the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship will be held at the Suffolk Galleries, Suffolk Street, Pall Mall, on Wednesday, May 7, at 8.30 p.m. Speakers: Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Beatrice Harraden, and Mr. H. W. Nevinson.

The Church League for Women's Suffrage will hold a public meeting at the Bromley Public Hall, Bow Road, E., on May 8, at 8.30 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Swanwick and the Rev. G. D. Rosenthal.

The Oxford University Branch of the Men's Political Union will hold a meeting at Manchester College on May 14, at 8.15. Professor Gilbert Murray will speak on "The Value of Constitutional Methods" (a criticism of militancy). Mr. Gerald Gould will open the discussion.

The Pioneer Players, under the direction of Miss Edith Craig, will give their fifth and last performance this season at the Little Theatre on Sunday, May 18, at 8.15 p.m. Three new one-act plays will be produced—"The Last Visit," "Mese Mariano," and "The Great Day," by German, Italian, and English dramatists respectively.

THE PIONEER PLAYERS

The Pioneer Players ask us to announce that they have been forced to postpone their performance of the religious drama, "Paphonutidus," written by the Nun Haroswitha in the eleventh century, until next Christmas, owing to the difficulties of securing music suitable to that period, the translator having made it a condition that the music should be of the century. This of course presents an obvious drawback, but the Pioneer Players have had the advantage of research work among Convent MSS.

◆

A CATHOLIC VIEW

The women too, especially the women workers, are conscious of their need of political influence. They see the politician ignoring the sad case in which so many working women slave and toil for a bare pittance. They feel that the vote would make their views and interests worth attending to by the politicians. And they are right. Only those with votes are worth heeding at polling times. And only when the working men and the working women march to the booth to say the final word will politicians become interested in those really live questions, such as wages and rents and profits, which are the only questions vitally affecting the toilers.—**Catholic Times.**

MORE SUPPORT FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Sir Herbert Beerbohm Tree a Suffragist

The *London Budget* has given various opinions of prominent men who are Suffragists. Sir Herbert Beerbohm Tree is one of the most recent celebrities to declare himself a Suffragist to a representative of that enterprising paper. "I have always," Sir Herbert said, "been in favour of giving votes to women employers of labour and to women householders, as they, of course, hold a responsible stake in the nation's prosperity. . . . As a matter of fact, the anomalies of women's and men's positions are not brought as forcibly before me as they might be before men of other professions. Women on the stage are very independent, and certainly their independence has not deprived them of any womanly charm. Actors and actresses hold an unique position, ours being probably the one profession in which there is equality between the sexes. The moral is obvious."

A week or two ago it was the manager of the Remington Typewriter Company, and the editor of the Catholic organ, the *Tablet*, who declared themselves in favour of votes for women. Mr. R. T. Nicholson, the manager, goes further, and says:—

"I would give women the franchise on exactly the same terms as it is given to men, and would certainly not be in favour of any limited franchise scheme for women only. With regard to their entering Parliament, it seems to me that the hard work and long hours would impose a physical disability, with which women would not be able to cope. If they can get over that I see no other reason for their exclusion. You see, my great point is that I am absolutely opposed to a sex barrier."

◆

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